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The Catholic Historical Review

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AMERICAN CATHOLIC REACTION TO INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT: THE ARBITRAL PROCESS. 1885-1900

By

Aaron I. Abell*

After 1885 the Catholic Church in the United States focused attention on the growing labor movement.[1] On the assumption that American workers in their struggle to secure better conditions intended not to subvert but to reform the existing order, clergy and laity were disposed from the outset to concede many labor demands. Inasmuch as Catholic leaders were drawn largely from the humbler ranks of society, they were able to sympathize, as if by instinct, with the sufferings of wage-earning people and to visualize the difficulties that must be overcome in order to attain more satisfactory living

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This article was his presidential address, delivered at the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in Washington, December 29, 1955.

[1] One aim in this article is to correct false or misleading statements which have appeared in some of the author's recent writings, notably the following sentences from his "Preparing for Social Action, 1880-1920," in Leo R. Ward, C.S.C., (Ed.), *The American Apostolate* (Westminster, Maryland, 1952), p. 18: "For a time, interest and zeal sensibly waned. The decade 1895-1905 was a period of ease and relaxation, if not of indifference and slumber. Though lip service was paid to Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, leading Catholics for nearly two decades after its promulgation failed to emphasize its true meaning; they expounded it as a 'bulwark' of the *status quo* and not as a great charter of social justice." Actually, few Catholics from either the leadership or the rank-and-file were satisfied with the *status quo* and many from both groups wished to introduce drastic alterations.

conditions. Nor was the Church's leadership slow to discern hopeful possibilities in the situation. With Catholics by the end of the century a strong minority of, perhaps, twelve million persons[2] in the country's population, and heavily represented in the labor unions, they were strategically placed to weed out abuses in a labor movement still in the formative stages of development. The social teachings of the reigning pontiff, Leo XIII, also encouraged Catholics to study the labor question and to suggest solutions, in terms chiefly of unionism, protective legislation and arbitration, voluntary and compulsory.

By formulating a labor program, reforming Catholics ceased to defend or acquiesce in the *laissez-faire* philosophy. They had believed, at the onset of industrial conflict, that Catholic benevolent associations would suffice to allay social discontent and to deter Catholic workmen from joining labor organizations.[3] Actually, however, industrial strife threatened by the mid-1880's to rend the social fabric, with Catholic workers playing a conspicuous part in every labor battalion.[4] Their expectations belied, Catholic theorists now realized that economic growth, when unrestrained by Christian social ethics, inevitably engendered conflict between employers and employees. To the extent that the ever-widening use of machinery and other instruments of capital destroyed the independence and self-sufficiency of most workers, they were at the mercy of employing corporations, powerless under the "supply and demand" philosophy to safeguard their humanity and livelihood. Happy in the thought that ethics had no place in business, most employers cheerfully reduced to practice the leading maxims of the Manchester School, namely, the "right" to "buy labor" as cheaply as possible, as if it were so many tons of hay or iron, to maintain dividends at the expense of wages, and generally to impose upon workers the losses, without sharing with them in corresponding degree, the gains of industry.[5]

[2] Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., *Has the Immigrant Kept Faith? A Study of Immigration and Catholic Growth in the United States, 1790-1920* (New York, 1925), p. 262.

[3] Aaron I. Abell, "The Catholic Factor in Urban Welfare: The Early Period, 1850-1880," *Review of Politics*, XIV (July, 1952), 319-323.

[4] Henry J. Browne, *The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor* (Washington, 1949), *passim*, and Terence V. Powderly, *The Path I Trod* (New York, 1940), pp. 316-382, show the importance of Catholic workers to labor organizations.

[5] Among leading periodical articles before 1890 on economic theory the following are revealing: Anon., "Cause and Cure," *Catholic World*, XLIII

Of the laymen at war with these attitudes the most influential, perhaps, was William J. Onahan of Chicago, businessman and public servant. By the mid-1880's he had won distinction in the Catholic temperance and colonization movements, and presently was to assume leadership in the Catholic lay congresses.[6] Though he, no doubt, regretted the passing of the independent craftsman, he was sure that the aggregation of capital was "the logical and perhaps inevitable result of our modern social system—in which wealth and 'greed of gain' is held to be the chief end of life." Inasmuch as the great corporations and exacting monopolies "little regard the rights of the day laborer," his desire "to combine and unite with other toilers for purposes of mutual protection" could not "be seriously questioned." Employees by the "tens of thousands" had "no redress or alternative unless to "strike' " when confronted, as they sometimes were, with arbitrary wage-cuts ranging from ten to twenty percent.[7] For the removal of this and other injustices, he suggested that the two parties have recourse to the peaceful processes of arbitration.

Onahan did not desire, nor did he believe, labor unions to be stepping-stones to socialism. He expected the unions to repel the aggressions of capital without seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the existing order. For Onahan attributed the miseries of the poor less to economic oppression than to moral deficiency. "The labor question," he stated at the climax of the Great Upheaval, "is not so much a question of labor as it is of liquor, laziness, and loafing."[8] With this diagnosis many leading Catholics substantially agreed, including Bishops Spalding and Ireland. Repeatedly, the Bishop of Peoria pointed out that with property in the United States widely diffused, the socialist propaganda lacked a factual base. Not-

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(April, 1886), 1-10; H.P.S., "Our Present Troubles," *ibid.*, (August, 1886), 585-93; E. W. Gilliam, "Some Aspects of Private Fortunes," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XII (October, 1887), 647-655; John Gilmary Shea, "Labor Discontent," *ibid.*, VII (October, 1882), 700-706; George Dering Wolff, "Socialistic Communism in the United States," *ibid.*, III (July, 1878), 522-562; same author, "The Wage Question," *ibid.*, XI (April, 1886), 322-344.

[6] Sister M. Sevina Pahorezki, O.S.F., *The Social and Political Activities of William James Onahan* (Washington, 1952), pp. 1-7, 26-201.

[7] "Capital and Labor: Philosophy of 'Strikes'," *Donahoe's Magazine*, XV (March, 1886), 232-234.

[8] Quoted in "Evils of the Saloon," *Catholic Review* (New York), January 1, 1887.

withstanding, workingmen had "legitimate claims," he conceded, which could best be met by trade unions. "They exist, and the ends for which they exist, in spite of incidental abuses connected with their working, are praiseworthy," he wrote in 1886, "and there is no power that can put them down." Spalding looked to the labor movement to exalt the ideals of morality and intelligence above those of commercialism. "If the trade-unions shall succeed in forcing politicians to recognize that financial interests are not the only or principal human interest, they will have conferred a benefit upon the nation," he believed.[9]

As his special contribution to the discussion of labor attitudes, Bishop (soon to be an archbishop) John Ireland of St. Paul[10] insisted that immigrant workingmen, no less than native ones, repudiated socialism. He was incensed at stories in public print portraying foreign-born workers in Chicago as gory insurrectionists who caused the Haymarket Square Riot of May 3, 1886. The immigrants were of the best intention, he asserted, but not understanding the language or customs of the country were at the mercy of demagogues. "I do not put the labor question on the same footing as socialism. There is a wide difference," he wrote, "but socialistic leaders take advantage of the opportunity to draw the labor question into the present difficulty."[11]

Similarly differentiating between labor agitation and socialism, the *Pilot* of Boston voiced its convictions in the luminous pages of "Phineas," the journal's anonymous labor correspondent during the culminating phase of the Great Upheaval. In his weekly commentary, unequalled in its day for brilliant, penetrating analysis, "Phineas" defended the thesis that the contemporary drive toward labor organization had already thwarted socialist objectives. From the vantage point of 1886, he surmised that in the summer of the previous year the unorganized masses, oppressed by capital and ignored by legislatures, were strongly drawn toward anarchistic socialism.[12] But

[9] "Are We in Danger of Revolution?" *Forum,* I (July, 1886), 405-415; cf. "Socialism and Labor," *Catholic World,* LIII (September, 1891), especially 797-807.

[10] James H. Moynihan, *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland* (New York, 1953), especially pp. 20-32, 211-233.

[11] "Bishop Ireland on Socialism," *Northwestern Chronicle* (St. Paul), May 13, 1886; "Knownothingism vs. Anarchy," *ibid.,* May 20, 1886.

[12] "The Masters' Weapon," July 24, 1886.

they were saved at "the edge of the precipice." A fraction of the downtrodden "rallied at last," he explained, "made a stand, and began to organize." With no aid from the "better classes," with, in fact, only maledictions from pulpit, press, and study, workingmen by their own concerted effort had put an end to wage-cuts and other indignities. "The success of the labor organizations," he further explained, "gave courage and confidence to the hitherto hopeless masses; thousands of them flocked to the labor organizations," and the other millions closed up quickly behind and around "until organized labor formed but a mere corporal's guard in a vast army of toilers."[13]

This turn of events posed, "Phineas" reflected, on a question of momentous importance: should the armies of toil be controlled by the labor organizations or led by the extreme socialistic element? In contrast to the socialists who make no concessions to capital, pronounce the American system a hideous failure, and "hesitate at nothing, not even at violence and bloodshed," the labor organizations, he said, "sanction no methods more violent than the strike and boycott and these only in exceptional cases. It is only when arbitration has failed," he asserted, "that the strike or boycott is adopted."[14] He forgot to point out that unions in a strong position sometimes would not agree to arbitration. In his view workers did not demand any "right to rule capital," only the right to bargain and to "a voice in the regulation of wages, and in fixing the conditions under which they shall labor."[15] Organized labor was interested in "immediate results," not in Utopian solutions of the social question. For this reason "Phineas" hoped the public, including the employer part, would uphold the unions and encourage workers to join them "that they may be placed beyond the reach of selfish demagogues and crack-brained agitators."[16]

Divested of its belligerently pro-labor overtones, the "Phineas" view was certain to find defenders. One such was the Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Chicago, Patrick J. Conway, who encouraged labor organizations because they practiced secrecy for business, not evil, purposes, did not teach the destruction of property, and believed

[13] "Workmen Winning," May 15, 1886.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] "Are They at War? A Needless Fight That Wastes the Country," December 25, 1886.

[16] *Ibid.*; "Workmen Winning," *loc. cit.*

"in settling their troubles by arbitration."[17] His friend and neighbor, William Onahan, saw in arbitration "the evident solution of this vexed labor problem." Workers would recognize and respect the rights of capital only if capitalists recognized and performed their duties to labor, the chief of which was "frank and honest arbitration." Should employers meet operatives "on this half-way neutral ground, an adjustment may be confidently looked for in most cases," he predicted, and the "arts of the demagogue and the threats of the socialists" would no longer "be effective with the laboring classes." Disputes not arbitrable by "mutual agreement" could be appealed to legislative boards of arbitration which should "be provided for by law in every state."[18]

As Onahan approached the threshold of compulsory arbitration, other reforming Catholics embraced an economic theory in which the arbitral process found no place. They were followers of the agrarian radical, Henry George, whose brilliantly written *Progress and Poverty* (New York, 1880) aroused interest in social reform not only in the United States but in all English-speaking lands, notably in Ireland.[19] Labor's real exploiter under the existing system, George taught, was not the employer or capitalist (merely the custodian of "stored-up labor") but the landowner whose rents, increasing without effort on his part as civilization advanced, tended to impoverish all producers, employers and employees alike. Should the state confiscate to public uses, as he proposed, the "unearned increment" (leaving the "possession" of land and the improvements in private hands), industry would be unburdened and conflicts between employers and employees eliminated or greatly lessened.[20]

Grateful to George for his journalistic efforts in behalf of the Irish Land League, many Catholics believed his principles properly applied would relieve urban poverty, and accordingly they supported his independent candidacy for Mayor of New York in 1886. But the Archbishop of New York, Michael A. Corrigan, disapproved in a pastoral letter, warning the faithful "to be zealously on guard against certain

[17] "Knights of Labor," *Donahoe's Magazine*, XV (May, 1886), 433-434.

[18] Capital and Labor: "Philosophy of 'Strikes'," *loc. cit.*

[19] Charles Albro Barker, *Henry George* (New York, 1955), especially pp. 265-304, 341-416.

[20] Cf. Peter Alexander Speek, *The Single Tax and the Labor Movement*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Number 878, Economics and Political Science Series, Volume 8, Number 3, pp. 247-426, for a detailed analysis.

unsound principles and theories which assail the rights of property." Admitting inequities in the existing system, he counseled the rich to treat the poor charitably and the latter, in turn, to await patiently "the rewards of eternal happiness."[21] These views Father Edward McGlynn, the leader of the Catholic Georgists, scornfully rejected; whereupon the archbishop first suspended and then removed him from the pastorate of St. Stephen's Church. Rather than submit, or compromise his opinions, McGlynn suffered excommunication for more than five years, finally winning a vindication in 1892.[22]

Convinced that the Catholic Church had "never condemned" common property in land "as contrary to Catholic faith,"[23] the McGlynnites ceaselessly charged that Corrigan had unjustly interfered with the right of the poor to secure "a peaceful redress for their grievances" and to enjoy the exercise of their civil liberty.[24] If Corrigan's action turned some workers against the Church, the ban on the Knights of Labor promised to alienate the entire labor movement, as Cardinal Gibbons cogently reasoned in his memorial to Rome successfully protesting their condemnation.[25] His frank plea, intended only for Roman ears, admitted that some violence was inevitable in the struggle of the masses for fair treatment against the "mail-clad power" of "hard and obstinate monopoly . . ." As befitted the occasion, Gibbons alluded repeatedly to the utility of association which was "the most efficacious means," "almost the only means to invite public attention, to give force to the most legitimate resistance, to add weight to the most just demands."

Gibbons acknowledged, however, that "legal remedy" no less than "strong resistance" was required to overcome social evils. Implicit,

[21] Frederick J. Zwierlein, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid and Allied Documents* (Rochester, 1946), pp. 7-11.

[22] Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-226, *passim.*

[23] Stephen Bell, *Rebel Priest and Prophet. A Biography of Dr. Edward McGlynn* (New York, 1937), p. 61.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52, *passim.* But the *Catholic News* (New York) contended that since McGlynn "was sustaining men who preached false and dishonest doctrines," that is "socialistic theories that have been conceived to be inimical to lawfully constituted authority," his civil rights had not been violated by ecclesiastical authority. "Henry George's Sophistry," and "Minor Editorial," January 12, 1887.

[25] John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921* (Milwaukee, 1952), I, 488-546; and Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-378, for full and corrected text.

if not openly expressed, in every Catholic defense of unionism was the assumption it would help mobilize public opinion behind needed social legislation. The *Pilot,* it is true, favored legislation only if its "immediate benefits" increased attachment of workers to labor organizations on whose militant activities their emancipation primarily depended. In this spirit, "Phineas" urged laws to protect, if not to insure, workmen against industrial accidents.[26] But other reformers expected protective labor laws to take the place of "foolish and expensive" strikes and boycotts. These weapons, when employed against great corporations, "were totally incompetent," insisted the Reverend John Talbot Smith, "to achieve a radical and permanent success."[27]

Smith complained that in their preoccupation with the strike weapon workmen had paid too little attention "to the defective statute, or to the preparation and passage of good laws." One cause of low wages, he pointed out, was "the employment of children where adults should be employed." Rather than exhaust their energies futilely attempting to change the "law of supply and demand" through strikes and boycotts, the unions should combine with wealthy philanthropists and other reformers not of the wage-earning class to end by law the child labor abuse, wipe out rotten tenements, curtail the liquor traffic, increase the number of public parks, extend factory inspection and chain the coal and food monopolies—all measures bearing directly on the workers' standard of living.[28]

If workers were slow to move in the right direction, the general public, as another priest, Edward Priestley, noted, was also at fault: it had refused to exercise its inherent power to regulate wages, hours, and other vital working conditions. Through fear of paternalism employers and employees had been left free to associate and to fight out their differences on the industrial battlefield. Brawn being no match for money, the workers had failed to win a decent support. With the growing realization that poverty not only debased the masses but also menaced society, many were coming to the conclusion, Priestley thought, "that we must, more than we have hitherto done,

[26] "The Knights of Labor. Some of the Work They Have to Do," June 12, 1886.

[27] "Workmen Should Not Only Act but Think," *Catholic World,* XLVII (September, 1888), 842.

[28] *Ibid.,* pp. 842-843.

make over to the state a closer oversight of the relations between the classes."[29]

A desire to curb the excesses of the land theorists, as well as to avoid the futilities of industrial conflict, inspired the Catholic state interventionists. As if to draw the wind from Father McGlynn's sails without sinking his cargo, Catholic thinkers stressed the scholastic doctrine that while private property in land and goods was truly a natural right, its exercise should be regulated in the public interest.[30] The Reverend Edward McSweeny was sure that should the rich continue to neglect the poor and needy, society would be at liberty to employ force, because "in justice as well as charity," he wrote, "whatever remains after the legitimate wants of the rich are supplied belongs to the poor."[31] The burden of relieving the hardships of labor "rests directly on the State," the Jesuit M. Ronayne asserted. He meant not alone the time-honored relief of indigence by state alms, but "that distress which lies on able-bodied men and women who are willing to work and can find no one to hire them, or those who have work but receive for it, we may say, starvation wages."[32]

However variously motivated, the state interventionists rejoiced when Pope Leo XIII endorsed their position. At last convinced that the Church must in the future insist on "justice" as well as "charity," the pope told a delegation of French workingmen on October 17, 1887, that should morality, justice, man's dignity or the domestic life of workingmen be menaced or jeopardized, "the State by a right measure of intervention will be working for the common weal, for it is its duty to protect and watch over the true interests of its subjects."[33] In keeping with these sentiments the Catholic Congress meeting in November, 1889, at Baltimore during the hierarchy's

[29] "The Wage Earner and His Recreation," *Catholic World,* XLVII (July, 1888), 513.

[30] Cf. especially J. de Concilio, "The Right of Individual Ownership—Does It Spring from the Natural or the Human Law?" *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XIII (April, 1888), 297.

[31] "Lacordaire on Property," *Catholic World,* XLV (June, 1887), 345-46.

[32] "Land and Labor," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XII (April, 1887), 250.

[33] Quoted in Edward McSweeny, "State Socialism," *Catholic World,* XLVI, (February, 1888), 690; Priestley, *op. cit.,* 518; *Catholic Review,* November 19, 1887; *ibid.,* December 24, 1887.

centennial celebration duly emphasized the need of the state's help in solving social and economic problems. For the first time associating the laity to a conspicuous degree with the clergy in the Church's work, the congress found the Republic menaced and society imperilled by "the constant conflict between capital and labor." The remedy must be sought, the congress resolved, "in the mediation of the Church, . . . teaching each its respective duties, as well as rights; and in such enactments as have been rendered necessary by . . . altered conditions."[34]

With Cardinal Gibbons the congress affirmed that paramount among the "sacred rights" of the laboring classes was "their privilege to organize or to form themselves into societies for their mutual protection and benefit."[35] In the same vein wrote Attorney William Richards of Washington, D. C., in his paper, "Labor and Capital," which savagely attacked the gospel of wealth.[36] More justifiably workers associated in order to "ward off the evils of a ruinous competition of man against man" than the wealthy owners of great corporations pooled "their issues with impunity, taxing a helpless public *ad libitum*" in order to swell their ill-gotten gains.[37] Richards was aware, however, that trade unions and similar organizations benefited only their members, not all the people. They were "simply voluntary associations, partial and limited, not state organizations embracing all parts of human society." More to his liking was the social insurance system of Bismarckian Germany. He was also cheered by various experiments elsewhere in the direction of state socialism, among which was public control of tenant-rights to land in Great Britain and Ireland.[38] Here Richards referred to, but did not name, the Irish Land Act of 1881 which presently was to exert a marked influence on the social thinking of American Catholics.

Besides approving the sentiments in Richards' paper, the advisory committee of bishops, headed by Archbishop Ireland, suggested to Peter L. Foy of St. Louis that he expand his original topic on

[34] William H. Hughes, (publisher), *Souvenir Volume Illustrated. Three Great Events in the History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Detroit, 1889), pp. 61-63.

[35] Quoted from James Cardinal Gibbons, "The Dignity, Rights and Responsibilities of Labor," *The Cosmopolitan*, VII (August, 1889), 384.

[36] Hughes, *op cit.*, pp. 71-74.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

"Charities" into a discussion of "philanthropic movements generally." He obliged in a lengthy paper on "The New Social Order," whose subtle and perspicacious insight into social movements was exceeded only by its brilliant diction and profuse literary allusion.[39] To the lack of balance between the two Titans—irrepressible democracy and organized industry—he attributed the evils as well as the gains of the new age. Machine industry, he observed, concentrated in cities both boundless wealth and the children of toil. Since 30,000 persons owned half the nation's property, wealth obviously gained the advantage in power and influence. "Wealth and population increase," he wrote, "but wealth more than population, and distress more than wealth." The centralizing tendency was enhanced, he emphasized, "by the lucrative privileges which wealth never fails to win from the government. If centralization was unquestionably a law of the industrial as well as the political movement," as he admitted, "the accelerated speed of the centripetal tendency in recent times is attributable not to natural, but civil law." Cities as the foci of new ideas and intelligent plans for their embodiment possessed "subtle powers unknown to the rural population which are periodically called into play in the policy of the state for the benefit of private or corporate interests."

Alive to the abuses of wealth, yet Foy pronounced no "anathema on riches," which, in his view, was but another name for capital, "an indispensable factor of production and the well-spring of wages." Capitalists held "the keys of the workingman's paradise—permanent, remunerative, invigorating employment"—even if, at the best of times, "the gates are held ajar and but comparatively few of the working men are admitted."[40] He denied that since the rich were growing richer, the poor were becoming poorer. In truth, their standard of living was steadily improving, but not speedily enough to invalidate their accusation that capitalists take or get more than their due proportion of the fruits of productive effort, and in addition absorb the whole unearned increment, whether coming from land or other monopolies. The poverty of proletarians stemmed not from personal defects but from social injustice; their "occasional lapses from sobriety and thrift, and the dissipated habits of some, are in no small degree caused by their wretched, sordid environment. . . . To restore a just and fair balance between the two classes," Foy thought,

[39] Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-43.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-38.

"is the chief problem in political science in this our day and generation."

The aid of the state was required—if not in behalf of skilled workers, whose fairly good wages and strong trade unions enabled them to take care of themselves, then in behalf of the great horde of unskilled and "sweated" labor whose economic position on account of irregular employment and low wages became increasingly precarious. True "objects of charity," these segments of the working class deserved of the state vastly enlarged relief administered in a kindly and liberal spirit. Workers and their families were also entitled to ample protection by way of compensation against the hazards of industry, among which should be numbered not only accidents but also, as in Germany, ill health and old age. Foy objected, however, to that feature in the German system whereby the state contributed equally with employers and employees to the insurance fund. He would place the direct burden on employers only, allowing the workers to withdraw the amount of their contributions at stated intervals and confining the government's participation to supervision and enforcement.[41]

Besides insurance and state charities, public policy required, Foy failed not to stress, "a more equitable distribution of the joint productions of land, labor and capital." He understood, of course, the difficulty of devising workable plans of economic reorganization. If we are as yet "incompetent to provide for a fair division of the fruits of industry between the different factors of production, we are at least able to provide," he believed, "provisional or empirical relief for the evils of the existing state of affairs. . . ." He suggested an extension of education along physical, technical, and artistic lines for all age groups, and public hygiene, including sanitary tenements and factories. The rich, whose fortunes had been accumulated with the connivance of politicians, should now be forced through taxation to share their surplus with the poor, and in this way submit to a measure of justice. He did not insist that they restore to the state their ill-gotten gains, but that they contribute more liberally "to the victims of their rapacity."[42]

Becoming more specific, Foy suggested that a small tax on personal and corporate incomes in excess of $10,000 would sufficiently com-

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

pensate for damages "inflicted on individuals and society by the industrial system, and indirectly by the law." Recalling the blow that laid low the slave-holders, he warned monopolist, cattle king, and the lords of the "unearned increment" on the surface or in the bowels of the earth not to resist the rising demand for an income tax—a demand which would become, he rightly predicted, loud and irresistible. By the same token, organized labor must not through power-intoxication plunge the country into revolution and anarchy. Provided their demands were reasonable, workers could confidently count on the public to approve them, whether sought directly by the unions "or indirectly through the medium of the state." While he evidently preferred the latter method, he did not think that strikes and lockouts, which often accompanied the trade union medium, were either illegal or immoral, so long as employers refrained from blacklisting union workers and these, in turn, did not destroy capital—the wage fund—or terrorize non-union employees.[43]

One of Foy's predictions, viz., that in arbitration would be found "the long-sought solution and synthesis" of the labor question, presently materialized so far as Catholic sentiment was concerned. With few exceptions, Catholic publicists urged reformers and statesmen to include legally enforced arbitration in their plans for allaying social discontent and industrial strife during the depression of 1893-1897 and the phenomenal business consolidation which ensued with the return of prosperity. In the discussions regarding the Homestead Strike of 1892 and every major industrial disturbance in the decade thereafter, Catholic reformers almost uniformly endorsed compulsory arbitration, however widely they differed on other solutions. In the vanguard of reform was the wealthy convert, John Brisben Walker, whose social criticism was not confined to the shortcomings of the Catholic clergy. When the Carnegie interests employed armed Pinkertons against the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, this "Catholic Mugwump"[44] branded the action an assault on the people's liberties. "For if one man may hire 300 poor devils ready to shoot down their brothers in misery," he editorialized in his maga-

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] The epithet is from the *Catholic Review*, March 29, 1891, which took exception to Walker's recent address at the Catholic University of America in which he had alleged priests favored the rich and shunned social reform. Cf. "The Church and Poverty," *Lend a Hand*, III (November, 1891), 338-343, for a sympathetic reference.

zine, the *Cosmopolitan*, "there is no reason why he may not hire 10,000."[45] The inequality which encouraged arbitrary displays of industrial power Walker would lessen through high income taxes; public ownership of railways, telegraphs, and telephones; heavy taxation of land and other properties held for speculative purposes; and a currency system, self-regulated by means of postal savings banks. "Finally, let it be a recognized principle," he wrote, "that when men employ many laborers their business ceases to be a purely private affair, but concerns the State, and that disputes between proprietor and workmen must be submitted, not to the brute force of many Pinkerton mercenaries, but to arbitration."[46]

Catholic journals echoed Walker's demand for arbitration, pointing out that great corporations must be operated to "public as well as private advantage." No writer more convincingly called attention to the "overlooked third interest in the contentions between labor and capital," viz., that of "the public and the public interests," than the veteran Catholic journalist, George Dering Wolff, whose remarks on Homestead were destined to be his last commentary on the labor question. "Neither employers nor employees," he categorically asserted, "have any rights over or against the public welfare." He readily admitted, to be sure, that in ordinary disputes where neither party was sufficiently powerful to disturb the public peace or injure other interests, the state wisely held aloof. The situation changed radically when immense corporations and labor associations asserted unqualified rights. Then pride and self-will usurped the place of prudence and mutual consideration; neither side would yield, "and the interests of others, both public and private necessarily suffer, even if violence and bloodshed do not ensue; and it is seldom that they do not." Wolff was sure that when powerful corporations and "less powerful yet still very powerful associations of workingmen" came into conflict, that there was "no other way, consistent with the public welfare, to settle the contention . . . than that of enforced arbitration."[47]

Within limitations set by the public welfare, Catholic advocates expected compulsory arbitration to secure higher wages and better working conditions for the laboring population. In support of their

[45] "The 'Homestead' Object Lesson," XIII (September, 1892), 572.

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 574-575; Cf. "Echoes from Homestead," *Pilot*, September 3, 1892.

[47] "An Overlooked Third Interest in the Contentions between Labor and Capital," *Catholic Standard* (Philadelphia), July 30, 1892.

proposal, they appealed to the Irish Land Act of 1881 and to Pope Leo XIII's labor encyclical of a decade later, each of which, the one in practice and the other in theory, had reconciled public and private interests. The New York *Freeman's Journal* believed that industrial courts of arbitration, composed equally of representatives from the state, capital, labor, and religion, would give life to one of Leo's celebrated formulas: "Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers, or is threatened with evils which can in no other way be met, the public authority must step in to meet them." From the proposed courts, this influential newspaper envisioned decisions so just and reasonable that employees would abandon the strike, and even their unions, while employers, forced into compliance by public opinion, would in the course of time accept profit-sharing arrangements.[48]

In a less lyric mood, the Indianapolis *Catholic Record* observed that neither profit-sharing nor compulsory arbitration would function properly in the absence of strong unions equipped to present the labor viewpoint.[49] Other journals voiced the same opinion, none more emphatically than the *Colorado Catholic* whose Populist-inspired editor, Father Thomas H. Malone, was thoroughly committed to the economic and political organization of farmers and workers. In his view, a compulsory arbitration law was but the first step in the united drive of the two groups to "create legislative safeguards to protect the laboring man from the greed and heartless aggressiveness of capital."[50] By the same token, the conservative New York *Catholic Review* sought in compulsory arbitration a check on lawless labor. This journal feared that troops sent to quell strikes would desert to the side of the idle and unemployed, and reproduce on American streets the frightful scenes of the French Revolution. Even if militiamen remained loyal, employers inevitably incurred immense damage from industrial conflict. "Better run the risk of having their profits cut down by judicious arbitration," the editor advised, "than to provoke the hostility of a maddened crowd of excited workmen."[51]

[48] "Leo XIII and Labor Adjustment," August 13, 1892; "The Labor Battle," *ibid.*, July 16, 1892; "The Remedies for Labor Troubles—Arbitration and Profit-and-Loss Sharing," *ibid.*, July 30, 1892; "Industrial Arbitration," *ibid.*, August 6, 1892.

[49] July 28, 1892; *ibid.*, August 4, 1892; *ibid.*, August 11, 1892.

[50] "Compulsory Arbitration," August 27, 1892.

[51] "The Carnegie Collision An Object Lesson," July 17, 1892.

While seemingly convincing, the New York journal's argument failed to anticipate changing realities: employers need not arbitrate in view of the growing willingness of the federal judiciary to outlaw strikes and boycotts against railroads and other quasi-public corporations. Mainly on the ground that the public welfare required uninterrupted service, several federal judges, conspicuous among whom was William Howard Taft, limited in 1893 the exercise of the strike right in decisions which were reaffirmed on a national scale during and after the violent and destructive Pullman Strike the following year. Barring a few exceptions, representative Catholics believed President Cleveland's sending troops to Chicago was necessary to restore law and order.[52] Some of them, however, thought that the federal authority would have reestablished peace more wisely and justly had it forced the parties to arbitrate the contest rather than obliging labor in effect to yield it.[53] Over and above their conflicting estimates of the Pullman struggle, reforming Catholics insisted that curtailing the strike right, without replacing it by arbitration or something equally advantageous to labor, was socially dangerous: the poor would conclude that they no longer enjoyed equally with the rich the law's protection and must, therefore, seek relief through revolutionary action.[54] The *Pilot* could visualize no solution short of government control or ownership of the railway network. "It is an undemocratic and paternal cure," it admitted, "but the disease is desperate, and calls for desperate remedies . . ."[55]

Sharing the *Pilot's* willingness to face reality, other journals also regretfully conceded that the Jeffersonian principle of as little gov-

[52] "The Western Riots," *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), July 14, 1894; James R. Randall, "Washington Letter," *Catholic Columbian* (Columbus), July 21, 1894; "Modes of Enforcing the Law," *New World* (Chicago), July 14, 1894.

[53] "A Way Out of the Difficulty," *New World*, July 14, 1894; "The Railroad War," *Pilot*, July 14, 1894; "A New Kind of Heresy," *ibid.*, September 1, 1894; "The Haughty Railroad Managers," *Northwestern Chronicle*, July 20, 1894.

[54] "Is Wealth to Trample on Freedom and Stamp Out Life?" *Catholic Advocate* (Louisville), July 14, 1892; "Is Law Tyranny?," *ibid.*, October 13, 1892; "The Masses and the Classes," *Catholic Herald* (New York), April 1, 1893; "The Conflict of Labor and Law," *ibid.*, April 8, 1893; "The Law and Labor," *Pilot*, April 8, 1893; "The Arrest of Debs," *New World*, July 14, 1894; *Catholic Review*, January 6, 1894; *ibid.*, February 17, 1894; *The Review* (St. Louis), September 1, 1894.

[55] "The Railroad War," July 14, 1894; Cf. "The Pullman Boycott," *Catholic Advocate*, July 12, 1894; "The Big Strike," *ibid.*, July 19, 1894; "Anent the 'Walking Delegate'," *Catholic Telegraph*, October 27, 1892.

ernment as possible needed modification. Sure that government ownership would be "the entering wedge of socialism,"[56] the *Catholic Record* did not think this objection was valid against compulsory arbitration. The supposition that the decisions "would be in favor of labor and always adverse to employers" was as erroneous as it was widespread. "The judgment of the court," the editor, Alexander Chomel, believed, "would be founded on the merits of the case as in other tribunals."[57] Paternal government was needed to protect workers "not only against capital, but also against demagogues and false leaders."[58]

At least one Catholic journal, the *Catholic Columbian,* published in Ohio's capital city, expected as a sequel to the Pullman Strike "the enactment of a compulsory arbitration act by Congress."[59] Although no law resulted, the president under existing statutes appointed a strike commission to investigate the causes of the recent conflict with a view to future legislation. The commission's report suggested that Congress establish for the railroads a permanent national strike commission with authority to investigate disputes, recommend settlements, and to enforce them with the aid of the federal courts.[60] In his editorial approving these and other suggestions, including one on employer recognition of the railway unions, Dr. Michael Walsh, editor of the New York *Catholic Herald,* urged that compliance be exacted through a license system. Requiring all corporations to take out licenses, the government should grant them "only on condition that all disputes with the employees be submitted to arbitration. A refusal to submit," he insisted, "should entail a forfeiture of the license." This plan, the "only legitimate way" government could interfere with contracts between wage-earners and their employers, would, he believed, make rich and poor "really equal in the eyes of the law."[61]

[56] "Our Labor Troubles," July 12, 1894.

[57] "Compulsory Arbitration," August 9, 1894.

[58] "Our Labor Troubles," July 12, 1894; "The Hope of Labor Is in a Paternal Government," July 12, 1894.

[59] "Two Good Results," July 21, 1894.

[60] United States Strike Commission, "Conclusions and Recommendations," *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894* (Washington, 1895), XLVI-LIV.

[61] "Cleveland's Strike Commission," November 24, 1894; Cf. "The Strike Commission's Report, *Church Progress,* November 17, 1894.

Walsh was unique among Catholic editors of the 1890's for the thought and space he devoted to the religious and social aspects of the economic crisis, styling his journal a labor paper along *Rerum novarum* lines.[62] He demonstrated, among other things, that adjustment of disputes, in accordance with Leonine principles, served to check, not strengthen, as many employers assumed, the socialist menace.[63] This reassuring theme was carried to the whole country by the Columbian Catholic Congress of 1893 as it studied the social question in the light of Leo XIII's great document. Ecclesiastical conservatives had urged the meeting to stress education and the restoration of the pope's temporal power, but they were overruled by the Committee on Organization which held with Archbishop Ireland that labor discussion was more timely and less offensive to the non-Catholic public.[64] In session a full week in early September, the Chicago congress probed deeply into the problems touched upon by Richards, Foy, and others at the Baltimore congress four years before and explored new interests, notably those involving arbitration.[65]

Of the four speakers on this phase of the program at Chicago, three were lawyers who entered strong pleas for state intervention. With "Pope Leo XIII on the Condition of Labor" as his subject, H. C. Semple, an Alabama judge, insisted that "the State should foresee and endeavor to remove all grievances which paralyze labor

[62] "The Strike Commission and the Press," November 24, 1894.

[63] Cf. "Beware of False Teachers," July 30, 1892; "The Labor Question," November 4, 1893; "The Pope and Trades Unions," September 29, 1894; "Agitate! Agitate!," October 13, 1894; "Cardinal Gibbons on Strikes," October 13, 1894; "A Lesson from the Strike," February 9, 1895; "No Place for Socialists," April 18, 1897.

[64] *Church Progress and Catholic World* (St. Louis), November 14, 1891; *ibid.*, January 9, 1892; *ibid.*, January 16, 1892; *ibid.*, February 6, 1892; *ibid.*, October 1, 1892; *ibid.*, December 3, 1892; *ibid.*, September 16, 1893; William Lewis Kelly to William J. Onahan, September 26, 1891, Onahan Papers, University of Notre Dame; Onahan to John Hyde, February 21, 1892, *ibid.*; Onahan to W. W. O'Brien, February 23, 1892, *ibid.*; "Republics and Leo," *Chicago Tribune*, February 17, 1892; Kehoe-Hammond Correspondence, University of Notre Dame.

[65] J. S. Hyland and Co., (Compilers), *Progress of the Catholic Church in America and the Great Columbian Catholic Congress of 1893*, 4th ed. (Chicago, 1897), II; Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan, "The Columbian Catholic Congress," in J. W. Hansen, (Ed.), *The World's Congress of Religions* (Chicago, 1894), pp. 984-1024; Onahan Papers, *loc. cit.*

by strikes, often the result of injustice and the fruitful cause of strife and violence." If not paid wages sufficient for his support "in reasonable and frugal comfort," the worker should "appeal to the State for approval and protection."[66] The other lawyers, Robert M. Douglas[67] of Greensboro, North Carolina, a son of the "Little Giant," and John Gibbons[68] of Chicago, soon to become a judge of the city's circuit court, reached similar conclusions by way of legalistic analysis. Properly applied or extended, common law principles, they explained, would suffice to destroy the oppressive power of employing corporations. While the state could not "compel anyone to employ or work for a fixed price," it should use its "visitorial power," wrote Douglas, to investigate and publicize through a bureau of corporations or some similar agency the causes of industrial conflict, the inquiry to examine not simply overt acts but wages, profits, and all other relevant factors.[69] Adept, like Douglas, at deriving industrial maxims from the common law, Gibbons reasoned that the standards adhered to voluntarily by humane employers should be "enforced as a legal duty in respect to those who regard their workmen as merchantable commodities."[70]

The fourth speaker, Frank J. Sheridan, an employee of the Department of Labor, opposed compulsory arbitration on the grounds that it would enslave the worker and establish state socialism "at the point of the bayonet."[71] Extolling voluntary arbitration, he urged his fellow-delegates to establish a Catholic Association of the United States for the Promotion of Industrial Conciliation and Voluntary Arbitration. The Committee on Resolutions responding favorably, the congress constituted Cardinal Gibbons, Onahan, and Morgan J. O'Brien of New York a committee to organize the association on a national basis.[72] In strongly endorsing "the principles of conciliation and arbi-

[66] Hyland, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[67] "Trade Combinations and Strikes," *ibid.*, pp. 150-153.

[68] "The Rights of Labor; the Duties of Capital," *ibid.*, pp. 52-55; Onahan Papers, *loc. cit.*; Cf. John Gibbons, "How Far Can Arbitration Be Made Compulsory Without Infringing on Private Rights?" in Industrial Committee of the Civic Federation, Chicago, *Congress on Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration* (Chicago, 1894), pp. 68-77.

[69] "Robert M. Douglas . . . at Catholic Congress," *Pilot*, October 7, 1893.

[70] "The Rights of Labor; the Duties of Capital," *loc. cit.*

[71] "Trade Combinations and Strikes," *ibid.*, pp. 162-164.

[72] Archbishop Ryan, "The Columbian Catholic Congress," *loc. cit.*, p. 1023. This committee was also authorized to arrange for a third Catholic congress

tration as an appropriate remedy for the settlement of disagreements between employer and employed," the congress did not restrict its approval to voluntary arbitration only.[73] Nor did it mention, either to approve or to condemn, compulsory arbitration or any other form of state intervention in industry.

The silence on these points did not imply that the congress wished to dispense with legislative action in the economic field. It did lay stress, however, on the moral standards legislation must meet in order to deserve approval. The remedies suggested, which varied "from the extreme of anarchical revolution to different types of state socialism," must fail, the Committee on Resolutions reported, "wherever they clash with the principles of truth and justice." In the spirit of what was termed Pope Leo's "luminous exposition of the subject," the committee declared that "no remedies can meet with our approval save those which recognize the right of private ownership of property and human liberty."[74] The context of these statements clearly indicates that they were intended to moderate, but not to destroy, the program of the state interventionists.

By assuming a cautious attitude toward industrial reform, the Columbian Catholic Congress partially deferred to those Catholics who favored inactive neutrality in the class conflict. These persons claimed that Catholic pronouncements on economic issues angered the contending parties without bringing solutions appreciably nearer. Unable or unwilling to discuss *Rerum novarum* in a manner "to avoid hostile criticism," the Archbishop of San Francisco, Patrick W. Riordan, stayed away from the congress.[75] No less significantly, the Chicago merchant, W. P. Rend, while friendly to labor and expert on social questions, refused to read a paper on "Combinations and Strikes." It would be "injudicious and serve no good purpose," he informed his friend Onahan, "to indulge in public denunciation of the grave abuses and glaring evils connected with strikes and conflicts now afflicting in an epidemic form most of the great industries of the country."[76]

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which was destined never to convene. Presumably the proposed arbitration association also failed to materialize.

[73] Hyland, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[74] Hyland, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[75] Letter to Onahan, February 1, 1893, Onahan Papers, *loc. cit.*

[76] Letter to Onahan, May 11, 1893, *ibid.*

Never a neutralist on any issue, Archbishop Ireland wanted to quell social agitation associated during the depression of the mid-1890's with the strikes of militant labor and the political demands of workers and farmers in the Populist and related movements. With Catholics "numerous in strikes and riots," as he reminded Cardinal Gibbons in a letter justifying his open denunciation of the Pullman Strike, it was all the more necessary to keep the Church "before the American people as the great prop of social order and law. . . ." Ireland distinguished less sharply than formerly between socialism and the labor movement. "Socialistic ideas have gone into our people and into many of our priests," he now believed. "We have been siding with labor in its grievances: the unthinking ones transgress the golden mean, and rush into war against property."[77] The Archbishop of St. Paul could not contain his alarm when in 1896 the armies of discontent gathered around Bryan seeking the presidency on a nominally Democratic but essentially Populist platform. Bryan's election, Ireland announced, would bring "destruction of social order," "lawlessness and anarchy," and rule by the "International."[78] He was outraged by the Democratic promise to free labor from "government by injunction." The courts "are to be shorn of their power," he lamented, "and shorn of it in favor of mobs, bent on rioting and the destruction of property."[79]

Apart from partisan politics, Ireland's social attitudes strongly appealed to a small but enlarging group of Catholics able and willing to rely for the improvement of their social status on thrift, sobriety, and the other economic virtues. But rank-and-file Catholics, along with most of their lay and clerical leadership, refused to follow the archbishop[80] and deeply resented the attempts of business interests

[77] Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 93-J-4, Ireland to Gibbons, July 21, 1894.

[78] Moynihan, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[79] "John Ireland," *Colorado Catholic*, October 17, 1896.

[80] Reputedly, only two Catholic newspapers, *Der Wanderer* (St. Paul) and the *Catholic Herald* (New York), supported Ireland on Bryan's defeat. "The Church and the Wage-Earner," *Catholic Herald*, October 24, 1896. Father Thomas H. Malone exaggerated in saying the "Catholic Church and the Catholic Clergy as a whole are working night and day for the election of Bryan and the silver cause." "Bryan and Martin Luther," *Colorado Catholic*, October 24, 1896.

to represent his position as that of the whole Church.[81] They contended, on the contrary, that property and income regulation were now more necessary than ever before. By the new business consolidations, which gained mastery over the American economy around the turn of the century, workingmen as consumers, along with the rest of the population, were often forced to pay extortionate prices, and as producers to forego justifiable wage adjustments.[82] Although in meeting this situation a few Catholics, among them the priests, Thomas J. Hagerty and Thomas McGrady, affiliated with organized socialism,[83] the Catholic body desired only a more vigorous trade-union movement and the legislative program as it had come from the intertwining hands of Knights of Labor, Single-Taxers, and Populists.[84]

No person at the turn of the century represented with more force and distinction the continuing Catholic interest in the labor question than the Most Reverend George Montgomery, Bishop of Monterey-Los Angeles, California. In an open letter to American workingmen, the bishop urged them to set the labor cause on a religious pedestal. Inasmuch as capital possessed an "undue purchasing power" in courts and legislatures, labor's only hope of securing justice lay in the emergence of honest and conscientious representatives and public servants. So long "as gold can buy votes and legislation, the laboring man will be the victim of capital," he warned, "and gold will have that power wherever religious principles do not form and control men's consciences."[85] As the routine of government became more

[81] "Socialism and Catholic Education," New York *Sun*, January 2, 1898; *Northwestern Chronicle*, January 7, 1898; "Hanna and Socialism," *Challenge* (*Wilshire's Magazine*), (December 26, 1900), 6; *Pittsburgh Observer*, May 1, 1902.

[82] "State Interference with Strikes," *Catholic Herald*, September 4, 1897; "Pagan Views of Labor," New York *Freeman's Journal*, September 22, 1900; "The Labor-Robbing Trusts," *ibid.*, November 24, 1900.

[83] Alfred W. Cook, "The Bugbear of Socialism," *Midland Review* (Louisville), December 7, 1899; Mary Bryre Carroll, "The Tempest Confronting Humanity," *ibid.*, February 22, 1900; G. Rybrook, Ord. Praem., "The McGrady Scandal," *The Review*, November 21, 1901; "What a Catholic Priest Says," *Wilshire's Magazine*, II (March 13, 1901), 10; "Father McGrady Resigns," *ibid.*, no. 54 (January, 1903), 34-37.

[84] *Pittsburgh Observer*, July 17, 1902; *ibid.*, October 9, 1902.

[85] "Labor and Religion," *Catholic Herald*, August 28, 1897.

responsible, Montgomery looked for a solution of the labor question in terms of compulsory arbitration, income taxes, municipal socialism, and nationalization of railways and telegraphs.[86]

In urging these measures, Bishop Montgomery suggested the continuing vitality of the attitudes and policies long extolled in the Catholic press and the Catholic congresses. Major strikes and strike threats in coal, steel, and urban utilities evoked renewed calls in the Catholic journals for a compulsory arbitration system.[87] Perhaps, the clearest, most succinct, and most cogently reasoned defense of the scheme came from the pen of John A. Ryan at the very outset of his brilliant career.[88] Since most employers and skilled employees (the American Federation of Labor since 1892) looked askance at the plan, prospects for its adoption in the United States sensibly waned. As this occurred, Catholic reformers increasingly turned for protection of the public and the ordinary worker to the public ownership movement, especially on the local level.

University of Notre Dame

[86] "Bishop Montgomery . . . Advocates Municipal Socialism," *Wilshire's Magazine*, II (February 6, 1901), 3.

[87] "Editorial Notes," *Catholic World*, LXXIII (August, 1901), 687.

[88] "A Country Without Strikes," *Catholic World*, LXXII (November, 1900), 145-157.

THE LETTERS OF BISHOP McQUAID FROM THE VATICAN COUNCIL

EDITED BY

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The Bishop of Rochester in the last part of the nineteenth century (1868-1909) was not a man who could easily be ignored. His position in the now increasingly revealed history of the Church in the United States in that period has long been well established. The pioneering work of Zwierlein[1] so portrayed his role that the historiography of the last quarter century has found it necessary to bring into more reasonable perspective even such matters as McQuaid's influence on the policies and decisions of his friend, associate, and the protégé of his New Jersey years, Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York (1885-1902). His merited reputation for forthrightness, and for often speaking his mind in his correspondence, has, however, remained unshaken by all subsequent research. The following excerpts from his correspondence with the Reverend James M. Early while McQuaid was in attendance at the Vatican Council will heighten the joy he has hitherto brought to the historian of the American Church.

No great case can be made for the importance of the delegation of prelates from the United States in the first ecumenical council since that of Trent, and the only one in which Americans ever participated. The formal opening of the council on December 8, 1869, found six American archbishops, thirty-nine bishops, and one abbot in attendance. What little they said in the formal sessions of the council has already been weeded out of the record of the proceedings.[2] With the exception of Bishop Augustine Vérot of Savannah, none of them became conspicuous by their contribution to the debates. Nonetheless, Archbishop Martin J. Spalding of Baltimore was important as

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[1] Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, 3 Vols. (Rochester, 1925-1927).

[2] Raymond J. Clancy, C.S.C., "American Prelates in the Vatican Council," *Historical Records and Studies*, XXVIII (1937), 7-135, based mostly on Mansi's *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.*

an infallibilist who favored indirect definition by condemnation of the opposite error, and he was made a member of the steering committee *de postulatis*. On the other side of that key question, Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick of St. Louis was the leading American anti-infallibilist. McQuaid never spoke publicly during the sessions of the council, but on the matter of papal infallibility he was found among the twenty Americans headed by Kenrick who petitioned Pope Pius IX in January, 1870, not to have the doctrine proposed to the gathering. When it was brought up, his written observations on the first formula were in agreement with those of Kenrick, not only on the inexpediency but the impossibility of definition on the basis of Scripture and tradition. In this he was of one mind with Vérot and Bishop Michael Domenec, C.M., of Pittsburgh. Again in early June, 1870, McQuaid joined with eight other Americans to protest the majority decision to close debate on infallibility. The three cohorts mentioned above stood fast a little longer and protested the holding of the fourth public session on July 18, when infallibility was passed. McQuaid's *non-placet* at the general congregation on July 13 was followed by nothing stronger than the protest of his absence on July 18. That very evening he started for home.[3]

Back in his own St. Patrick's Cathedral—the devotional character of which he protested he had not found the like of in Europe—McQuaid, on August 28, 1870, gave his people an explanation of the doctrine of infallibility, particularly of the way it was hedged about by distinctions. He said frankly, *"I have now no difficulty in accepting the dogma, although to the last I opposed it; because somehow or other it was in my head that the Bishops ought to be consulted. . . ."*[4] But he revealed nothing more of the inner workings of the council or of his private reactions to its progress. Two American bishops did tell more at the time, for James Gibbons, Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina, and Patrick N. Lynch, Bishop of Charleston, had at intervals sent accounts to the *Catholic World* which were published between February and September, 1870, in eight unsigned installments. By reason of the handicaps of the secrecy rule of the council those articles were for the most part merely descriptions of the external organization, leading personalities, and the panopoly of

[3] Clancy, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 55, 63, 64; Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, II, 59-60.
[4] Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, II, 63.

Rome accidental to the work of the assembled churchmen.[5] Bishop McQuaid's private letters published here, however, are rather to be classified with those sources for the history of the council which originated with participants, but which remained for a time hidden from the historian. Hence, as a Vatican Council correspondent, McQuaid, apart from a consideration of quantity, ranks in a minor way with the theologian, Henri J. Icard of Saint Sulpice, and Bishop William Ullathorne of Birmingham.[6]

In the case of McQuaid, as with Ullathorne, the twenty letters extant—nine in incomplete form—from the days he spent in Rome (November 26, 1869, to July 18, 1870) contain much more than news of the council. His correspondent, Father Early, rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Rochester, was obviously close to McQuaid—although later they came to a parting of the ways—and was acting as his vicar in the bishop's absence. Only two years before, Early had headed the *terna* for Rochester before McQuaid was sent there from the Diocese of Newark as the first ordinary of the new see. It was McQuaid's constant concern for his diocese which, probably more than anything else, produced the letters to Early in which affairs of the ecumenical council were also contained. Very few of the letters are without comment on domestic matters, for of the ninety-three duodecimo sides only fifty-seven were devoted in any way to Roman affairs, and it is those sections which are given below. He wrote much of troublesome priests, Sister Hieronymo's unsuccessful attempts to get state funds for St. Mary's Hospital, the wanderings in Paris of a prospective candidate for the priesthood, the buying of vestments, the building of a new bishop's house at home (even to the details of the plumbing), the opening of parochial schools, and—ever and always—of returning home. McQuaid had been consecrated as recently as July 12, 1868, being one of the twelve Americans at the council whose episcopal careers had begun that year.

[5] Reprinted in James Cardinal Gibbons' *Retrospect of Fifty Years* (Baltimore, 1916), I, 34-185, along with his later "Personal Reminiscences of the Vatican Council," *North American Review*, CLVIII (April, 1894), 385-400.

[6] The writings of these participants were sources, respectively of F. Mourret, *Le concile du Vatican, d'après des documents inédits* (Paris, 1919), and the two-volume work of Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., *The Vatican Council* (London, 1930). Biographies of other prelates like Schwarzenberg, Manning, Dupanloup, and Gibbons have utilized their private papers, but it has usually been merely for a chapter in their lives and not for an over-all picture of the council.

The letters speak for themselves. It remains only to observe that they were preserved by the Reverend Louis A. Lambert who died in 1910 as pastor of Assumption Church, Scottsville, New York. Lambert was a publicist and the most noted Catholic apologist opposing the popular agnostic, Robert Ingersoll. But as pastor at Waterloo, New York, he became involved with McQuaid in one of the most famous in the series of bishop-pastor controversies that went to Rome for adjudication in the late nineteenth century. It was probably Lambert who wrote the few comments that appear on margins of these letters, such as "precious" on that of May 24, 1870. Undoubtedly, it was he who blue-penciled McQuaid's comment on his being given St. Mary's Church at Waterloo, "He is a man of fine mind, and would be able to meet any of the students of the University who came to him with difficulties, and his sermons would always be sound and respectable" (May 1, 1870). Father Lambert's friend and seminarian from his parish in Scottsville, Aloysius S. Quinlan, the late right reverend pastor of St. Ann's Church at Wildwood, New Jersey, had preserved since 1910 the McQuaid-Early correspondence among papers pertaining to Father Lambert. The whole collection is now deposited in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America. There is no evidence that these McQuaid letters were ever utilized, except by Lambert for the delectation of his friends, or that they have been previously published in any form.

The Catholic University of America

Rome, Dec. 1, 1869

Your very acceptable letter of the 11th of Nov. reached me on the 29th. I had arrived in Rome on the 26th.

My last letter was written to you in Munich. We traveled from Munich to Verona, crossing the Tyrolese Alps by the Brenner Pass, and although snow fell in Munich the day of our departure there was none on our road, except on the mountain tops. We visited Verona, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna and Florence on our route to Rome.

I am stopping at the American College, as I found that Bishop Bayley had secured a room for me. Whilst the room I occupy is nothing to boast of, the advantage of having so many Bishops together

is so great that I much prefer staying here.[1] Father De Regge[2] is staying for the present at a Hotel, until he can find an apartment elsewhere. Bishop Bayley and I have a carriage between us, at a cost of 750 francs a month. The carriage costs more than ourselves.

I have not seen much of Rome as yet; having abundance of time to stay in Rome, I purpose visiting its Churches, etc. at my leisure, without crowding too much into one day. Yesterday, I paid a most interesting visit to the Church of St. Clement in charge of the Irish Dominicans. Father [Prior Joseph] Mullooly showed us through the extraordinary excavations under the Church. I shall have much to say about this visit on my return home.

The Bishops are arriving rapidly from all parts of the world. The first meeting is called for tomorrow the 2nd to make the preliminary arrangements for the Council.

Since coming to Europe I have heard much of the question of the infallibility of the Pope, which with us in America was scarcely talked of. The feeling is very strong, *pro* and *con*. It seems that the Jesuits have been at the bottom of it, and have been preparing the public mind for it for the past two years. They have not made friends for themselves by the course they have followed, and if in any way the harmony of the Council is disturbed it will be by the introduction of this most unnecessary question. The probability now is that in consideration of the opposition already manifested that it will not come before us. Still there is no telling what the Jesuits will do, and from the manner in which they are sounding the Bishops I am inclined

[1] James Roosevelt Bayley, Bishop of Newark, in a letter to Michael A. Corrigan, administrator of his diocese, was at that very time referring to McQuaid as "in fine health and spirit." Bayley acted as secretary for the American bishops when they met at the North American College to plan strategy and to nominate candidates for committees. Some few notes of his survived in his copy of *Eminentissimi et reverendissimi S.E.R. cardinales reverendissimi domini Patriarchae Primates Archiepiscopi Episcopi Abbates nullius dioecesis supremi ordinum regularium moderatores quibus jus aut privilegium est sedendi in Oecumenico Concilio Vaticano* (Romae, 1869) (78 pages). They indicate meetings were held on December 6, 13, 16, 22, 1869, and once between the last two and also on January 2 and 23, 1870. (Department of Archives and Manuscripts, The Catholic University of America.) Cf. Sister Hildergarde Yeager, C.S.M.C., *The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley* (Washington, 1947), p. 285.

[2] Hippolyte de Regge was pastor of Our Lady of Victory, the French church in Rochester.

to think that they will yet succeed in having the question forced upon us. In my humble opinion, and almost every American Bishop whose opinion I have heard agrees with me, it will be a great calamity for the Church. My great hope is in the prayers of the whole Church that the Holy Ghost may guide us aright.

On Monday I began to say a Mass for each Priest of my Diocese in particular and I shall continue to do so on every free morning until the end. I know it will please you all to be remembered in the Holy City, in the midst of the bones of the Martyrs and Saints. . . .

* * * *

American College, Rome, Dec. 16, 1869

. . . I find that chaplains are quite useless here, and after the holidays I will send Father De Regge home. He will remain at the Cathedral as first assistant, master of the ceremonies and Chancellor. He can occupy my room until you remove into the new house. . . . Father De Regge is now in Naples. He met here in Rome his former pupils whilst a Tutor in Belgium and accompanied them and their Mother on a trip to Naples. Bishops' Chaplains here at grand ceremonies should be valets. They were treated most shabbily at the opening of the Council. Even Father McNierny[3] was pushed to one side. De Regge will have his story for you on his return. I had to do some rough work myself to pass through the crowd and reach the vestry room. I succeeded and made way for a half dozen other Bishops.

I had my first audience with the Holy Father today, when I handed in the address and the money, 15,972 francs. The Holy Father, at the close of the interview, blessed myself, priests and people, the religious communities and servants of the house. So you see Catherine and Annie came in for a special blessing.

If I had my own way, without having as yet seen the tenth part of Rome, I would soon start for home. I am quite tired of being away from my usual duties and occupations, whilst the curiosity to see sights and places is growing less.

[3] Francis McNierny was secretary to Archbishop John McCloskey of New York and was to become Bishop of Albany in 1877 where he ruled until his death in 1894.

No man can tell when we may be able to return to our flocks. The Council opened on the 8th. and so far we have done nothing but elect officers, or rather Members of special congregations. We voted on Tuesday for twenty-four members of the special congregation on Dogma.[4] The votes have not yet been counted. According to the rate at which we are moving, we shall not be at our real work until after Xtmas. It seems that disciplinary questions affecting the position of the Church in quasi-Catholic Countries are most likely to stir up diversity of views and strong feelings. Fortunately it is not a matter that concerns the American Church to any great degree. The other disturbing element is that of the definition of the infallibility, about which the Jesuits have been so busy to their own detriment. Nothing is said about the dogma, but a great deal about the expediency or advisability of any definition. Another trouble is the impossibility of finding a Hall suitable for debating purposes for an assemblage of over 800 persons. Only think of the transept of St. Peter's in which we now assemble! The best voice can not fill it. It is 150 ft. x 90 and 150 high. The Bishops in Council present a magnificent spectacle. The partition separating the Council hall from the Church does not extend all the way up and the voice seems to pass into the immense dome. This letter will reach you about New Year's, so you can say "Happy New Year" to every one for me. If you gave nothing to the orphans for me at Xtmas, on New Year's day send $30 to the Boys' Asylum, $20 to the Hospital, $20 to the Girls' Asylum, $10 to St. Joseph's Asylum and $10 to Canandaigua, with the request for the prayers of the Orphans, the sick and the Sisters for myself and the happy and speedy close of the Council. . . .

Tell Mr. Purcell of the "Union"[5] that it will be difficult to make up letters of interest about the Council, as the questions to be discussed are not to be made public until published to the world. This is the last place in creation for news. In a preceding letter I requested you to have sent to me for six months the "Weekly Union.". . .

The probability is that the "Jus" people will get more than they bargained for when they come on as the Freeman tells us they are

[4] Bayley's notes indicate that on December 13 the Americans met and agreed to adhere in voting to names selected at a meeting on December 6, and that they also resolved not to vote in the appointment of the deputation *ad fidem* "for any name of the General Committee appointed by the Holy Father."

[5] William Purcell was editor of the Rochester *Union and Advertiser*.

to do. In other words, they will find out that McMaster has been making fools of them. The general feeling is that many of the troubles of the Church have proceeded from that principle and the Council, with the experience of the past before them, is not likely to go back in her discipline. We have a Priest here from the Cleveland Diocese, who would have done better to have remained at home. . . .[6]

My health is excellent, and I am as comfortable as I need to be, or as other Bishops are.

* * * *

American College, Rome, Dec. 28, 1869

This is my third letter to you from Rome. The others, I suppose, will reach you in good time. My last was in answer to yours of the 24th. of November.

I received the "Democrat" with Coxe's letter to the Holy Father. It is a silly thing, worthy of Coxe, and is only a subject of laughter here. I hope no one will notice it among you.[7]. . .

Father De Regge, who will leave Rome in a few days, will not reach Rochester before the end of March. He will be with you in time to assist during the close of Lent.

When I had an audience of the Holy Father, I placed on the table at his side, the address of the Priests of the Diocese, and a draft for 15,972 francs, or $4,100 in currency. I have not received any acknowledgment of either as yet, nor am I likely to have it unless I ask for one or both. I shall, at least, ask for a receipt of the money.

[6] "Jus" was one of several anonymous correspondents of the New York *Freeman's Journal* edited by the layman James A. McMaster. "Jus" was rounding out his second year in defense of clerical rights against the power of American bishops. McQuaid does not seem to have got beyond the suspicion that "Jus" and the priest from Cleveland were one and the same, viz., Eugene M. O'Callaghan, pastor of St. Columba's Church, of Youngstown, Ohio. Sister Mary Augustine Kwitchen, *James Alphonse McMaster: a Study in American Thought* (Washington, 1949), pp. 188-192.

[7] Arthur Cleveland Coxe was Episcopal Bishop of western New York. The previous August, he had begun the anti-papal statements which brought on pulpit reaction from McQuaid. The calling of the council elicited his pamphlet, *The Vatican Council: A Letter to Pius IX, Bishop of Rome* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870, 47 pages), which found its way to Europe in French, German, Greek, Bohemian and Italian versions. Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, II, 41-47; Harris Elwood Starr, "Arthur Cleveland Coxe," *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 484.

Others who gave much larger sums are in the same category with myself. Bishop Ryan,[8] however, has been more fortunate than we, having received a beautiful letter from the Holy Father. Of course, this letter will be published in Buffalo, and Rochester may wonder what has become of its contribution. I do not care much for letters, but I want an acknowledgment of the receipt of the money for my own justification.

The Council is moving along very slowly. Today, for the first time, discussion began on the matter presented to us. We now know the day of the beginning, no man knows the day of the end.

We have not yet got through with the voting for Committees. The voting, however, is all one way. One of the Italian Cardinals, Archbp. Manning and the Jesuits prepare and print a list of their candidates. The Italians, the Spaniards, South American Spaniards and others vote it. They have the whole thing in their own hands. Archbp. Manning picks out such American Bishops as he chooses, nearly always going against the expressed unanimous choice of the American Bishops. Although we, more than half of the French Bishops, nearly all the Germans, most of the Irish, English and English Colonial and Eastern Bishops vote one ticket, it has no chance against what is called the Jesuits' ticket. This is a difficulty, however, that cannot be remedied. The majority carries the day and they have the majority. The English Bishops voted for Dr. Grant as their representative, but Dr. Manning was placed on the prepared ticket and of course was elected.[9]

I have thought a good deal of you all these Xmas days, saying Mass day after day for my people and longing to be in their midst again. The Pope's Mass in St. Peter's was truly magnificent, but I would have enjoyed our own hearty celebration with more soul. I felt for you and Father O'Hare and the heavy work you had, and I here doing next to nothing all that day.[10]

Wish for me a happy New Year to all my friends, clerical and lay. God grant you all a long but happy and blessed life.

[8] Stephen V. Ryan, C.M., Bishop of Buffalo, 1868-1896.

[9] Henry Edward Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, was the whip of the ultramontanes. Thomas Grant, Bishop of Southwark, died during the council on June 1, 1870. Bayley's notes show committees set up on December 16 and 22 to confer with English-speaking bishops for united action.

[10] James F. O'Hare was acting as assistant at the cathedral in Rochester.

My health is excellent. The damp and chilly weather has caused a few twinges in the left shoulder, making me remember Rochester, and the first signs of rheumatism which it gave me. . . .

* * * *

[Jan., 1870]

. . . The weather here during Dec. was wretched, and my room most uncomfortable. The stove placed in it was only a sham and of no possible use as it had no draft. I intend in a few days to leave for more comfortable quarters. I did not care to complain until I had determined to leave. I finally thought that it was scarcely fair to remain here to suffer considering how much had been done by my Priests to secure my comfort. It is true there was a desire to save all I could to keep for the house. If we are not kept longer than June, I have with me nearly as much money as will answer even to bring me home notwithstanding the change into more comfortable and expensive quarters.

In a previous letter I asked you to make arrangements with my Bank in Rochester for a letter of credit if possible. I shall scarcely need to use much of that money unless I should wish to make purchases for the church or house. I state all this to you, so that you need not be afraid of using any money of mine for the house. I hope that all have paid up the Cathedraticum. If so, you will have a nice penny to help you along. . . .

How does the sounding board answer? And how does Father O'Hare preach? I am sure he is a good and faithful Priest and a great help to you. Still you must have had hard and fatiguing times these last days. How I did long to be at home on Xtmas!

Did you succeed in giving the big bell a ring on Xmas day? I am afraid not. Then it must not be silent on St. Patrick's day, or I shall feel displeased with my good people of the Cathedral. I remember them so often at the Holy Mass in a particular manner and pray for them and their welfare, and I would not like to think that I had not their good will and cheerful cooperation in every good work.

Pay very little attention to the news you hear about the Council. The London papers are filled with ridiculous accounts of it and of the Bishops. A little truth and many lies make up the contents of their

accounts.[11] Unless an escape is found from the present way [of] getting on, the Council will not be over for *years*, I would not like to say for how many. One book or pamphlet of matter has been under discussion for two weeks; the discussion is not over, and the probability is that the book will have to be rewritten. There are, so we are told, some twenty such books. The first one now under discussion was supposed to be so easy that it would be adopted almost without discussion. We have listened to some twenty speeches, in duration from 15 to 60 minutes. Saturday next will bring on five more.

Today, we had a solemn session, but instead of passing decrees, as none were ready, we only swore to the Creed of Pius IV. It was a long and tedious ceremony, from 9 A.M. to 2 p.m. The Jesuits and some others are bent on bringing out the definition of the infallibility. If the question were left where it belongs, to the Council, no one could complain, but their schemes and tricks outside of the Council are many and mean. Pray God to direct all things for the best. It will do no harm to say an odd prayer for my speedy return to my Diocese.

You cannot say that I do not give you long letters, whether there is much in them or not. You must have not a little trouble to decipher them.

You should use thin paper and envelopes or your postage will be enormous. Sending by Bremen I only pay 16 cts. Your last letters I noticed were charged each 54 cts. Perhaps you put more on them than was necessary. Make inquiry at the Post-Office about this matter, as it is of some importance. . . .

* * * *

Hotel de la Minerve, Rome, Feb. 7, 1870

Your kind and welcome letter of the 20th., has this moment been received. The Freeman's Journal of the 22nd. came by the same mail.

The course followed by the Priests of the Diocese in denouncing the Pamphlet has had an excellent effect, and although my own feeling at first was against any notice being taken of the pamphlet, it is now clear that I was wrong in so wishing as so many persons have

[11] Bishop Ullathorne characterized the London *Times* up to January as absurd on every point. Butler, *op. cit.*, I, 211.

seemed disposed to hold the Clergy of my Diocese responsible unless they disavowed it.

McMaster's account of a divergence between himself and Bp. Bayley caused by me is sheer nonsense. Bp. Bayley and he remained on the friendliest of terms until the "Jus" letters appeared, when Bp. B. in view of their friendly relations presumed to write a private letter to McM. deprecating the continuance of a discussion calculated to injure religion. McM. did not reply, and their intercourse has ceased since. Some months before my consecration, I attempted to argue the injustice of Mac's treatment of Archbp. McCloskey. Since, a coldness has existed between us, I suppose, as we have had no further intercourse. He no doubt knows that I disapprove of his course with regard to the Archbp. and the "Jus" controversy. The same McMaster is responsible for a great deal of the wrong judgment towards myself entertained by many Priests in distant parts of the U. S. with regard to my action in O'Flaherty's case. Even in the present article, he leaves his readers not cognizant of the facts to suppose the use of "arbitrary power" in the Auburn trouble; just what O'Flaherty claimed. Now, McM. knows as well as either of us, that O'F's crimes deserved suspension, and that his removal was a way of bringing about his suspension without the necessity of making public his many and wicked delinquencies. However, the pamphlet does me more good than harm as it has quite satisfied every good man of the horrible character of O'Flaherty.[12]

Do not imagine that I am at all disturbed by the pamphlet. Whatever pain it has given me has been for my friends and not for myself; they feel the indignity offered to their Bishop and to religion by such publications. . . .

I do not care to urge the building of the two school-houses too strongly lest I force a work beyond the ability of the two congregations, with unwilling pastors. They know how desirous I am of providing schools for our children, and it is quite possible that this Council may speak in a manner that will leave us no liberty in the question of religious education. Still, beyond giving a quiet hint to both pastors as from yourself, you can leave them to follow their own course. I am not on the spot to judge, whether really or not, they

[12] Thomas O'Flaherty, pastor of Holy Family Church in Auburn, gave McQuaid early and scandalously public trouble, even resorting to printed attacks. Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, II, 11-41.

ought to make a beginning, and, therefore, it is prudent that I should not give a command. If they have good reasons to give why they should not make a start, and they speak of such to you, you might suggest the propriety of their writing to me on the subject. I am not disposed to be unreasonable in the matter. St. Bridget's ought, at least, to purchase materials and collect money. By thus keeping the matter before the people something would be done. You might say to Father N. Byrne that he might keep collecting and purchasing as the money comes in, and when I return in the Summer, I can decide whether or not the building ought to be gone on with. . . .[13]

* * * *

Hotel de la Minerve, Rome, March 14, 1870

. . . We have now been over three weeks without a meeting of the Council. They seem to count time for nothing in this "*Eternal* City." There are *rumors* of a meeting the end of this week, but only rumors, which in Rome are as thick and lively as their fleas. . . .

I was on the point of putting in my application for leave to go home, but as I did not intend to leave until after Easter, I was induced to hold it back for some time.

For many reasons I am most desirous of going home as early as possible and nothing detains me here, except the greatness of the subjects to be settled, if possible, within the next two months.

On Thursday, our Patron Festival, I will be with you all in spirit, and hope that you will have a grand and pleasant celebration in the Cathedral, and that St. Patrick's bell will have a cheering word for the whole City on that morning.

There is no news of importance and life here is so aimless and inactive that I long to run from it. . . .

* * * *

[March-April, 1870]

. . . I am, thank God, in the best of health, and exceedingly comfortable in this Hotel. There are nearly 20 Bishops in it, Irish, German, Spanish and American. Bp. McFarland's[14] health is improving.

[13] Nicholas Byrne was pastor of St. Bridget's Church in Rochester.
[14] Francis P. McFarland, Bishop of Hartford, 1858-1874.

A few days ago I saw little prospect of his complete recovery; there is more hope now.

I wrote a few days ago to Sister Hieronymo to keep her in good humor. Tell her now, to put her in bad humor, that the Council will last for two or three years. . . .

I hear that we are to have three weeks' vacation at Easter. It will enable the Bishops whose sees are near to go home for Holy Week. I shall make use of the time to visit Naples and Loretto. . . .

* * * *

[March-April, 1870]

. . . The condition of my young Diocese will justify [me] in asking for permission to return, in case the Council does not finish its work by the Summer. From present appearances the possibility of getting through in years is all that is before us. But I must go home, even if I have to return for next Winter.

Bp. Bacon[15] was the first American Bishop to ask permission to return on account of affairs in his Diocese and obtained. He left Rome last Thursday. . . .

* * * *

[April 15 and 16, 1870]

. . . I had intended to ask for permission to go home immediately after Easter, but the importance of certain questions to come up in the Council made me decide that my duty obliged me to remain here. I will therefore see the Council out and will not leave until it is prorogued. The probability, almost certainty, is that it will be adjourned after Pentecost until next Winter. A few days will tell us what course is to be followed. We have got through the first part of the first "schema" *de fide*. When we resume work next week if we take up the second part, the "schema" *de Ecclesia*, containing the Infallibility and the *canons* quoted by Coxe, will be among the postponed matter. Some of the objectionable canons will be omitted altogether, or so modified that they will be very innocent. Perhaps the discussion and excitement over matters that will not pass the Council will only work good for us. It is just as well to leave Coxe alone. No one minds his attempt to prove that the Episcopal Church is the Catholic

[15] David W. Bacon, Bishop of Portland, 1855-1874.

Church, and I have every hope that the canon quoted by him favoring in theory at least persecution will not be found in the Canons passed by the Council.

Many of the American Bishops have left or will go immediately after Easter. The affairs of their Dioceses compel their return. Others who asked to leave were refused as no more permissions will be granted until after Pentecost. I shall be home sometime in July, towards the end. If we leave immediately after Pentecost I will give two or three weeks to Ireland. If I am kept until the end of June, I will do [no] more than spend a few days in Paris and Belgium on business and go directly home. This is as near the truth as I can get now about the time of my going home. As I do not intend that there shall be any fuss made over my getting home, the first information that you will have of the time of my arrival will be when I knock at the door for admission. You can say this to any and to all who may ask you about the advisability of a public reception, or demonstration. . . .

The ceremony today at St. Peter's was magnificent. From 30 to 50 thousand people were gathered on the piazza when the Holy Father gave his blessing. I did not wait for the washing of the feet as my companion, Bp. McFarland was tired and wanted to return.

Some of the singing was heavenly, but except that there are no women in the choir, I do not see that there is much difference between our music and what prevails in Rome. The "Catholic World" and "Freeman's Journal" need to come to Rome. By the "Cath. World" I mean Father Young who has been writing the articles about Church Music. I hope to bring home with me some good music for our Choir. Tell Mr. Moran I do not forget him. The great music here is not printed, but I shall have some of it copied. In Paris I will find more than in Rome.[16]

Good Friday, Ap. 16.

I have just come in from St. Peter's. The attendance was small in comparison with that of yesterday. The singing of the Passion was thrilling; the adoration of the Cross, moving and solemn.

[16] McQuaid had reformed the cathedral choir according to the legislation of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore and apparently had an ally in Moran since he himself professed no technical knowledge in the field. Alfred Young was a member of the Paulists. Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, II, 310.

This afternoon I purpose going to St. John Lateran's to attend the *Tenebrae* service. In the multitude of grand solemnities going on on every side one knows not which to attend. I have just heard that the Holy Father sent for one of the strongest Infallibilists and told him that he must use his best influence to bring on the question at once, as the state of Europe was such that if not settled now it never would be. Of course, if he has said so to one, he has said the same to several. We may therefore expect the all-important question to be placed before us for discussion immediately. As the Holy Father has used all his influence to decide the question his own way, we may expect to have it placed before the Cath. World in some shape or other. If the Council will so limit it that the decisions of Popes dethroning Kings, and setting subjects free from their allegiance, and authorizing the burning of heretics, etc. shall not be declared infallible, we may be able to get along. It seems to me that we are destined to encounter great difficulties and troubles in America in the next few years. What the Almighty has in store for us is past my comprehension. . . .

* * * *

Rome, April 24, 1870

I have just returned from the first [at which decrees were passed] public session of the Council, and having some spare time I thought I would send you a few lines.

You will doubtless have read all that we have done in the papers before this letter reaches you. The matter consists of an introductory chapter, & four chapters with canons attached. Chap. I. is on God, the Creator of all things: Chap. II. is on Revelation: Chap. III. on Faith: Chap. IV. on Faith and Reason.

There are some obstruse metaphysical points which few can fathom and certainly will never trouble the brains of any but a German Philosopher for whose especial benefit they seem to have been made. The rest is quite simple Theology. Yet it was wonderful the care that was needed and the pains taken to make every thing just as it ought to be.

The Decrees and Canons were passed unanimously. I know of only one Bishop who having objections to some points and not wish-

ing to break the unanimity of the voting remained away and did not attend. The sight in the Council Hall was very beautiful. It was the first time that the Bishops appeared in red copes [for the Mass of the Holy Ghost]. The rich bright color contrasting with the simple white mitres had a charming effect. There was no great crowd compared with the crowds of Holy Week and Easter Sunday. On the last named day the crowd in the piazza of St. Peter's numbered from 100 to 150 thousand people. It is only in Rome that such mixed crowds can be gathered, and it is only in Rome that such orderly, quiet, pleasant and *gentlemanly* crowds can be found. What I have seen in this regard has filled me with amazement, not only at religious ceremonies but at public gatherings for festivities.

There will be a great exodus from Rome after today. The ceremonies, illuminations, and now the first promulgation of decrees are over, the visitors of all kinds and classes will leave us. Several American Bishops leave this week, although some will not go home directly. I stay to fight the great battle if it should come up. We ourselves know little of what we shall have to do next. We may take up the second part of the first *Schema de Fide,* and we may pass at once to the *Schema de Ecclesia,* taking the question of the Infallibility first of all and out of its place. Some Bishops are urging the Holy Father to have this done; on the other hand, the difficulties in the way of such a definition are so many and so serious that there is some hesitation. Opposed to the definition are so many Bishops of unquestionable devotion to the Holy See, who will vote a ***non-placet*** if it should come before them that men stop to think. Besides the governments of Europe are alarmed. They remember that Popes in the past absolved subjects from their allegiance and in many ways interfered with governments. Even in our country there will arise more or less difficulty on this head. At least politicians will try to use the difficulty against us.

Yet with all these reasons weighing against the definition I am inclined to think that it will pass in some modified form. The Holy Father wishes it, and lets every one see that he does, the Jesuits are as busy as bees of late and the French Bishops of that way of thinking are as enthusiastic and excitable over the subject as they well can be.

My hope is that in the definition the Pope will in some [way] be connected with the Church. I cannot conceive of a living head

without a body. However, I must not enter into the vexed question, which has been such a disturbance to my mind since I came to Rome that once it is disposed of one way or another I will never want to hear of its controversy again.

Should the discussion begin this coming week the cable will have informed you of it before this reaches you.

Monday, the 25th.

I resume my letter this morning. Since writing the above I learn as certain that the next point for discussion is to be the old one of the "little Catechism." Some are opposed to a uniform little Catechism for one reason; others for another. It is not a question that troubles me much, as the Catechism itself can be reconstructed as often as they find it expedient until they get one that will be satisfactory. The reason alleged for a general one is that uniformity may be obtained. But whilst saying this, they at the same time contradict themselves, as each Bishop will still be allowed to have larger ones for his own Diocese and according to its peculiar needs. Hence we at once get back to our old condition. So long as the same faith is taught, the less interference in such matters, the better in my judgment. The rumor has it that the Infallibility question will follow next.

I have been amused at reading in the Freeman's Journal what he has to say about the Council. He draws all his facts or supposed facts from the London Tablet and Vatican.[17] Many of those *facts* amuse us at the power of invention, if not of malice, they display.

No one here has been able to discover the representative of "Jus." We can only laugh at the tone of the Freeman. It is probable that when his agitation dies out that Bishops themselves will take up the matter and see what can be done, in justice to the interests of religion as well as of Priests. The matter only once came up in a meeting of the American Bishops and on that occasion the only difficulty in the way of giving it examination was McMaster's agitation. . . . Bp. Purcell leaves for home in a few days; worried almost to death by the trouble of the Infallibility question; Bp. Bayley leaves

[17] To the strongly infallibilist *Tablet*, edited at the time by Herbert Vaughan, the future cardinal, Manning added a special supplement, *The Vatican, A Weekly Record of the Council*, under the same editor.

today; he is only too glad to get away from the fight.[18] In fact, some of the strongest opponents of the Infallibility are leaving. The Americans, of course, cannot return should the question come up, whilst the Europeans will be back in time.

After many an effort I obtained the receipt for the money given to the Holy Father by the Diocese. On the 18th. of March I received a letter in reply to the address of the Priests. I will forward the letter and the receipt by Father Hecker who leaves Rome on Wednesday.[19] You can, if you please, have the letter translated and published. It comes so long after date, and so long after others presented at the same time, that I feel by no means pleased. . . .

Direct your letters to the American College as I call there every day and I am no longer at the Minerva, having left the hotel last week. I have taken the rooms occupied by Father Quinn. They are large and pleasantly situated. The family are kind, obliging and not obtrusive. I pay but 6 francs a day for three rooms. At the Hotel I paid 4½ for one small bed room in the fourth story, here called the third. My breakfast is served to me in my room, and I go to a restaurant for my dinner, at about 3 o'clock & at a cost of from 2 to 4 francs, according to my appetite or my extravagance.

Father De Regge ought to be back with you about the time you receive this letter. There is an Italian I intend to send to you. I am undecided whether I shall send him at once or keep him until I go myself. It is probable that I shall send him in a few days.

You are aware that Father O'Hara passed his examination and obtained his degree of D. D. Dr. O'Hara! henceforth, if you please.[20] Unfortunately just after all his hard study, on his return from Naples to which he went for a few days, he was taken down with

[18] John Baptist Purcell was Archbishop of Cincinnati. Bayley, for some unexplained reason, returned to Rome from Paris and after an illness left for home only on July 18 when he accompanied McQuaid. He was not upset by the whole issue, seeing in the dispute over the definition a matter of form rather than of fact. Yeager, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[19] Isaac Thomas Hecker, founder of the Congregation of St. Paul, while in Rome had acted as liaison with German-speaking prelates, especially Friedrich Cardinal Schwarzenberg, Archbishop of Prague. Unlike McQuaid, he was grateful for the Jesuit influence at the council. Walter Elliott, *The Life of Father Hecker* (New York, 1898), p. 365.

[20] This would seem to have been James O'Hara, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Syracuse.

the Roman fever. He has been very sick, but is at the present out of danger and recovering rapidly. He had a great start out of that piece of waggery in the papers appointing a Bishop to Syracuse. As the story was told to him he was not able to see that it was a joke and attached importance to it.

Dr. Anderson of New York has also been quite ill—is getting better. Father Healey [*sic*], late of Troy Seminary, was at death's door for days—he is now well.[21] He was confined to bed for nearly a month. They tell us that such a winter has not been known in the memory of that famous individual, to be found here as well as in America—"the oldest inhabitant." Bp. Ryan has kept very well—seems to fatten up a little.

I see the papers have published the rescript of the Holy Father permitting the use of the Holy Oils of last year. I did not send it to you because I thought it just as well to get supplied with fresh oil and be done with the matter for this year.

A good word for me to all my good friends in the Diocese. Indeed it has been a good thing for me to be absent so long as it has caused me to think so much more of home and all my friends, priests and people in it. I thought a great deal of you during Holy Week, whilst I had such an easy time here.

* * * *

Rome, May 1, 1870

. . . I am much afraid that I have given you much trouble about the Holy Oils. I heard that only a few days ago that Bp. Bacon was not to go to New York for Holy Thursday as the Archbishop had written to take advantage of the privilege accorded by the Holy Father to use the old oils with some new oil added. I knew of the privilege, but supposing that only those would take advantage of it who could not do better, and that the arrangement with Bp. Bacon was a definite one, I concluded not to change my directions to you and preferred to get a good supply of fresh oils. If Bp. Bacon did not go to New York as he told me he would, you may have become

[21] William Henry Anderson, professor at Columbia College in New York, had been converted to Catholicism in 1849. Alexander Sherwood Healy, from 1864 until he left with Bishop John J. Williams of Boston as his theologian at the council, had been professor of moral theology and prefect of studies at St. Joseph's Seminary, Troy, New York.

embarrassed by the charge. However you saw the rescript of the Holy Father in the Freeman's Journal, and I suppose took advantage of it.

I have received two sermons of Coxe; they amount to very little, and will do no harm. The canon that he made most use of in his first sermon will be so changed that no one will be able to object seriously to it. His second sermon is the old story of the decadence of Romanism and the beginning of signs of life in Protestantism. Dr. Coxe cannot or will not see that all Catholics who leave the Church become infidels, and that his own people are all tending to infidelity. Let there be no notice taken of him. . . .

I have already written so much about the time of my return that I am ashamed to allude to it again. We are not our own masters, nor do we know what the Council is to do beyond treating the matter that is just before it. My present expectation is that I shall be able to leave Rome about the end of June. Should I be kept here that long, I will then go directly home reaching there about the end of July. You must not suppose however that the Council is to end then, nor in fact for two or three years, but by that time in all probability the great question will have been disposed of. We are told that the Council will continue its sessions even through the Summer months, but at long intervals so that the Bishops shall be able to live out in the Country places and come into Rome when needed. I would obtain permission, now somewhat hard to be had, and leave tomorrow if the Infallibility question was only settled one way or another. Some one will have a terrible account to render for having stirred up this question for many a soul will be lost no matter how it is disposed of, even if put to one side which is now impossible.

We shall finish the question of the little Catechism this week, and then take up the Primacy and Infallibility. We expect to receive the amended schema on both subjects in the course of the week, and immediately enter on their discussion. Everything depends on the nature of the amendments. I believe that the extreme men like Manning and some of the French Bishops and the Jesuits will not carry their point, but whether the dogma will be so defined as to prevent a schism in Germany and Hungary is more than I know.

I have now on my desk 106 pages quarto of printed remarks on the schema on the Primacy and 242 pages on that of the Infallibility. The discussion in the Council will bring out the most learned and

able men in the body on both sides. It will be a great discussion and a long one, I fear, unless it should be brought to a close arbitrarily. I cannot leave until this matter is settled and I cannot tell when that happy moment will come although I hope that it will be over by the end of June. So soon as I can see positively at what time it will be in my power to leave I will write to you, whilst as I said in a former letter I shall permit no demonstration on my return.

This morning being the first Sunday of the Month and the beginning of the Month of Mary I made a special commemoration at the Mass in behalf of the Rosary Society, of whose growth I am much pleased to hear. I hope that as they grow in members they grow in devotion to the B. V. So many of them now united in prayer to Mary ought to obtain for the Parish all sorts of spiritual blessings. I intend to bring for each member a pair of beads blessed by the Holy Father. You will therefore in your next letter let me know how many members there are altogether.

According to my promise to Brother Patrick, and in accordance with my own views the Academy will be changed into a parochial School at the resuming of Studies in September.[22] On this account as well as for many other reasons am I most anxious to return at the earliest possible moment.

I have already written about the mortgage obtained by Father Byrne. Do not let him go on with the work unless the people are disposed to do something themselves. The money can be deposited in the same bank at interest until needed or I return. These things show the harm of keeping 700 Bishops away from their sees so long. . . .

The Holy Father has condemned the Fenians by name. It is true that there are two organizations in America; One objectionable, and the other, not except in as much as it aids the one that is and which is most deservedly condemned for it is affiliated with the secret societies of Europe which are all of the worst description. In Ireland the only organization is of this latter class and they deserve to be condemned. I am sorry that it was not left to the Irish Bishops to deal with them in their own way, but Card. Cullen is now the ruler of the Irish Church and whatever he says is done.

[22] St. Patrick's Boys' School had half of its 200 pupils paying for instruction at that time.

The American Fenians will have to change their name, and disavow all connection with secret societies condemned by the Church, or else they will get themselves into antagonism with the Church. There can be no harm in their laboring for the liberation of Ireland but it must be done in a legitimate way. I did my best to have the American Bishops take the course they did, because I believed that if our good Catholics were spoken to quietly they would themselves change anything that was requisite to keep them right with the Church. The bringing in the word American in the condemnation was most unfortunate and I am much afraid will lead to great loss of souls.

You can talk to O'Brien and McMahon and make known my views about the matter. The only thing I can see objectionable in the "Pledge" is the support to be given to the "Fenian Brotherhood," because the "Fenian Brotherhood" as it exists in Ireland is condemned.

Very few of the Irish Bishops have published the condemnation; the others feeling much as we do in the matter.[23]

Dupuis in Paris promised to send the balance of the vestments in two weeks. So I have not heard from him since there is reason to fear that he has not kept his word. These delays are most provoking, but it is the European way of doing things. No wonder they cultivate the virtue of patience in Rome; it is much needed. . . .

* * * *

[mid-May, 1870]

[The beginning of the first sentence in this fragment which speaks of the definition of papal infallibility.]

. . . The damage to the Church will be immense. In some countries there will be large schisms, and great losses to the Church in all countries except Italy, Spain & Ireland and among our poor people

[23] This secret oath-bound Irish brotherhood, dedicated to expelling the British from Ireland, had been under the suspicious observation of the American bishops since the end of the Civil War. Bayley for one wanted a Roman condemnation, but most of the bishops had felt a public censure would be inexpedient. Paul Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, and the Fenians' chief episcopal adversary in Ireland, tried to swing the Americans to his view. Contrary to McQuaid's fear, the Fenians went into a decline in the United States after their futile raids on British Canada and the condemnation caused no great furor. O'Brien and McMahon were obviously Irishmen in the move-

at home. I find that some Bishops who were unwilling to join in trying to avert the discussion are now frightened when they see it impending over them. My head is fairly splitting with pain and anxiety. I have just come from seeing a friend who has been prostrated by the news, only received today, of a determination to force the matter through the Council in spite of all remonstrances. God help the Church is my constant prayer. If some decrees are passed as they have been presented to us, we can look out for hard times in all countries in which Catholics and protestants are expected to live together. In fact we furnish them with good reasons to drive us out of the country. . . .

We are not so very lax at home since here in Rome where meat is not so necessary as with us, they are allowed its use in Lent, the same as every other time; on all days except Friday and Saturday.

* * * *

[mid-May, 1870]

. . . We are now discussing the Infallibility question. It will be passed as a matter of course, though with a vote of from 100 to 150 against it. The consequences God only knows. Humanly speaking and with human knowledge to guide us, a broad schism and the loss of countless souls will follow. The Pope insists upon it, the Jesuits move Heaven and Earth, and the majority seem bent upon it. I hope that I may be entirely wrong in my sad forebodings, and that the dreadful consequences anticipated by me and by others may be only vain fears. For my own Diocese and my own people I have no apprehension, but for other places and people I can only see trouble and schism.

I am very much pleased to see that the "Union" has ignored that question altogether. It was the only course to follow.

* * * * *

Rome, May 24, 1870

. . . This brings me to the great question when shall I be in Rochester again, or rather when shall I be able to leave Rome. He

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ment locally, but they could not be identified with certainty. Cf. Fergus Macdonald, *The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States* (New York, 1946), pp. 32-48; William D'Arcy, O.F.M.Conv., *The Fenian Movement in the United States: 1858-1886* (Washington, 1947), pp. 329-332.

would be a wise man that could tell. I do not think that the Holy Father himself could answer that question.

We have entered upon the discussion of the great question, and when that discussion may end no man can say. Already we have listened to 38 discourses on that *schema in genere,* and there remain about 70 more to be heard not to speak of the fresh crop brought forth at each meeting. Then comes the discussion in particular, which will not fall behind the first. If there be not a greater number of speeches, they will make for the deficiency in number by greater length. In fact, unless a short cut is found for ending the discussion in some way, we cannot get through it in less than six months, if even in that time. Some of the discourses thus far delivered have been master pieces of oratory. Such were the speeches of Schwartzenbergh [*sic*], Paris, Cashel, Prague, Mayence and Grenoble. The Archbishop of Cashel threw Cardinal Cullen into the shade. Tuam did well considering his age. There has been nothing from the Italians or Spaniards so far worth listening to. The Italians put me in mind of professors of Theology who had never left their class-room, or had met opponents able and disposed to contend seriously with them. The Spaniards look to me like men who want to put every one who differs from them in the Inquisition.

Neither extreme in the Council is likely to carry their point. It is already evident that the definition that will be presented to the faithful for their belief will be such a definition as they will have no difficulty in accepting. The Jesuits who are responsible for forcing this question on the Church are sure to be defeated. To use commercial language, "their stock is below par." The definition that will pass will state that this Infallibility is not *personal,* not *absolute,* not *separate* or *independent,* not *inspired,* not *miraculous,* does not mean *impeccability.* Furthermore, all those bulls of Popes in the past open to so much fault-finding will be recognized as not infallible. Such a definition will be a heavy blow to some who have been working heaven and earth to bring about one almost the opposite of this. The *schema* now before [us] does not contain all this, but the real leaders say that it means this. We want to compel them to put its equivalent in the schema. In the end we shall succeed. We could succeed in quick time but for the Holy Father himself who is the strongest on his own side. God, however, rules His Church, and the truth will come out in the end. Ten thousand times would I rather

be one of those who have quietly to await the promulgation of the truth, rather than where I am to be at the bringing out of it.

We are told that the Council will go right on with its work until this question is settled. It may be settled in a month, and we may see six months before we get through with it. I cannot therefore, say when I shall go home. My own impression still is that we shall be able to leave here about the first of July. That is, I think that after a week or two more of talking we shall see the necessity of mutual understandings and agreement, and with these obtain a definition satisfactory to all reasonable men.

I have not seen the article in the N. Y. Herald to which you allude, although I have heard about it.[24] The petition to the Holy Father did not enter into the merits of the question, but only begged him for the reasons alleged not to permit the question to come before the Council. All who signed it were opposed to the doctrine, as understood by the leaders on the other side, except two or three. Others objected to signing anything; whilst some would have signed one petition as they agreed with it, but were afraid it might commit them as against the doctrine itself. I do not understand how it got into the newspapers as the general understanding was that it was a private affair and not intended for the papers. For myself, I am quite indifferent, if anything, pleased that it was published. I performed a conscientious duty then, and nothing has occurred to change my convictions since. In fact, it seems to me that God has used a small minority of 120 to 150 to hold the majority in check and compel them to act with care and deliberation. You will be astonished when I show you on my return the steps by which little by little we have advanced in all cases from the first schema to the last, or completed one.

Should our people talk much about the Infallibility, it will be enough to say to them to give no heed to the stories in the newspapers, but in patience to await the decisions of the Church with which God is as much today as in the past.

[24] On April 27, 1870, the New York *Herald* carried the text of a so-called postulatum of the American bishops against infallibility. It was in reality a petition to the pope, dated January 15, to keep the question of infallibility out of the council's discussions. McQuaid joined with a score of fellow prelates from the United States in this. Cf. Clancy, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 64, and J. Ryan Beiser, *The Vatican Council and the American Secular Newspapers, 1869-1870* (Washington, 1941), p. 86.

My good people have never caused me any uneasiness on this subject, as I know that they will accept the decisions of God's Church as the truth. But the trouble, if any arise, will arise in France, in Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, & the East. I have great hopes that God permits our fears just to let us see how much His hand is ever present to guard His Church.

What shall I say of the weather? You can scarcely have forgotten that terrible month after I came to Rochester. For two weeks past we have had just such weather, if not worse. By day and by night we suffer, except whilst in St. Peter's which is deliciously cool. If kept here through July and August we shall die off rapidly, and leave mitres in abundance for Bishops expectant. . . .

In reply to those who ask about the time of my return, say that as soon as the present question of the Infallibility is settled, I will in all probability leave for home.

I have been quite annoyed today at receiving a letter from a Priest, not of our Diocese, urging me to sacrifice my convictions, and yielding to the judgment of others, vote for the Infallibility, unconditional and absolute, as he understands it. Just as though I could dare do such a criminal act. Thank God so far every vote of mine has been according to my judgment and not according to the judgment of any one else. When I could not fully understand a question I gave no vote at all, but kept my seat. My convictions on the Infallibility question are very clear and decided; I have read all that its friends have to say; I bought Perrone and Bellarmine and Guerin's history of the Councils, all good Infallibilist authorities; I offer my objections and doubts, right and left; I am open to a change of mind, but it must be upon proofs and facts, and not upon what some one else may happen to think or vote, that my vote shall be given. Besides of my way of thinking are some of the holiest, most clear-headed, learned and disinterested Bishops in the Council; Bishops of whose loyalty and devotion to the Holy See, no one would presume to raise a doubt.

Since I came from the Council this morning I have been engaged in writing this long, but rambling letter in the midst of the sweltering heat. I think that I have touched upon the chief points though in a disconnected way. And now I remember another remark I wish to make. When they write to you for the interest on the Bond for the American College, answer that you have no funds for that purpose as I failed to make provision for its payment. . . .

Rome, June 6, 1870

. . . I expect to have Dr. McGettigan, the Primate of Ireland, and the new Archbishop of Toronto at dinner this evening.[25] I will congratulate the latter on the addition to his Diocese in Mrs. Hughes. . . .

As I informed you in a previous letter we are now in the midst of the Infallibility discussion. After hearing about sixty speakers, the discussion on the general merits of the question was suddenly brought to a close by a vote of the Council. This proceeding was not pleasing to many—to myself among others—and a protest entered against it. As the definition will pass in some form or other, and will be unacceptable to many, I hold that it is better to have patience, examine the question thoroughly, and not even seem to infringe on any one's right. So many things have already been done outside of the customs of previous Councils, that the disaffected will be sure to make use of every excuse not to accept the definition. I consider the closing of the debate a great *mistake*.[26]

Rumor says that we shall be able to leave Rome by the 29th. of June, as by that time the definition will have been made. I do not see how that can be unless the Holy Father makes the definition himself without regard to the Council. He is capable of doing such a thing, and with his ideas on his own Infallibility it is not impossible. Let the Council does [*sic*] its best, cutting short all discussions even, and it can scarcely get through the *schema* now before us, until long after the 29th. However, yesterday an American Bishop who is well posted, and is not given to going off in a hurry, gave orders to have his trunks forwarded from Rome by the 15th. of this month. I will act on this hint.

If when we break up, I find that I shall not be obliged to return for next Winter, I will try to go to Bordeaux to make arrangements about supplying ourselves with wine for the table and the altar; to Paris for some necessary business, and, if possible, to Ireland, for a short visit. If, however, I shall be obliged to return, I will go

[25] Daniel MacGettigan was Archbishop of Armagh from 1870 to 1887. John Lynch, C.M., who had just been raised to the rank of archbishop, had founded the Seminary of Our Lady of the Angels at Niagara, New York, before becoming Bishop of Toronto in 1859.

[26] Yet a recent historian in relating this action of June 3 claims most of the participants were relieved by the end of repetitious debate. E. E. Y. Hales, *Pio Nono* (London, 1954), p. 306.

straight home. You see that this information is very indefinite, but it is the most accurate I can give you, as the future is not under my control.

The Council will be prorogued for three or four months. This seems certain. I will not return unless compelled to do so, or unless the questions then to come before the Council should be of such a nature, that my Metropolitan should decide that I ought to make the sacrifice and return next Winter. I am too sick of this kind of life to wish to prolong it.

If you write to me after the receipt of this letter direct to the care of Rev. Robert W. Brundrit, Birkenhead, England. Father Brundrit will be instructed what to do with any letters sent to his care.

Perhaps, before this letter reaches you, the cable will have informed you of the promulgation of the dogma of the Infallibility. That will be the surest index of my speedy return. . . .

* * * *

[mid-June, 1870]

. . . I have not received Coxe's pamphlet as yet. His talk is silly and amounts to nothing.

I am glad to hear that minds at home are more quiet on the Infallibility question. The loss will be in the East and in Hungary, Bohemia, Germany & France. The amount of Infidelity here in Italy is fearful. The revolution that is coming will make great changes.

Whatever happens in the Council will be God's will, and though great calamities may follow at first, good will eventually come out of it all.

I can only repeat what I have already said that I will go home as soon as possible after the proroguing of the Council.

* * * *

Rome, June 25, 1870

. . . The house will turn out to be more in debt than you suppose; still its financial condition is highly satisfactory and will cause no embarrassment to us. My great regret just now is that I am not living in it, instead of being boiled to death in this sweltering atmosphere of Rome. The perspiration flows from me day and night, and if I was to remain here all the Summer, my dried bones might be gathered up as all that would be remaining of me. . . .

We are still at the Infallibility and no more likely to get through by the 29th. than we are of going on an overland trip to the moon.

Over one hundred speakers are apt to speak on the subject; then the amendments come up, and more talk; in a word, to do justice to the subject, three or six months would be needed.

I shall do my best to leave here by the 15th. of July, definition or no definition, and leave Liverpool on the 30th in the Russia. This will oblige me to neglect important business in France, and deprive me of my much coveted visit to Ireland. But I am not the master in this matter. Still it is useless for Priests to calculate with certainty upon my return. . . . Please to let the Priests who are awaiting my return for religious functions know of this uncertainty. . . .

I will see about the vestments when I reach Paris. I cannot comprehend the delay of that Paris house. I purchased candlesticks for the altar of the B. V. from a Lyons house, together with several other things. Engravings, Photographs, books, etc. that I had intended to buy I have left unbought, as my funds are running out, and I did not wish to draw from your drained treasury. I can send for some of these things afterwards.

Still hoping to make a start for home before Aug., I am, with kindest regards to all my friends.

. . . P.S. Please say to Mrs. Fitzsimmons that her letter has been received; that if I have not sent her a communication for the paper it has been because my mind has been too much annoyed and worried to think of anything so serious.

* * * *

Rome, June 30, 1870

The 29th. has passed and still we have no definition.

There is a disposition to push on the discussion, and although today there is papal chapel at St. Paul's, the Council is in session. The weather is intensely warm and debilitating, and not feeling brisk and lively, or rather feeling decidedly lazy, I have not gone to the Council Hall this morning. Besides, I saw no name among the speakers likely to interest me in today's discussion and rouse me up to make an effort.

If we get through by the 24th of July, I will still take passage for home in the Russia on the 30th. This long detention in Rome will

keep me from going to Bordeaux to make arrangements for red and white wine as had been my intention, and also from going to Lyons about vestments and church furniture. In fact, the disappointment is annoying and serious. Besides reaching home in time for the laying of the corner-stone of the new Church in Auburn, and other work of the same or similar character in the Diocese, there is the Seminary Collection to be attended to in the month of September, the opening of the Latin School, the change in the Parish Boys' School, the Sisters of St. Joseph, etc., etc.

This amount of pressing and important work has determined me upon sacrificing everything else to it, except my duty to the Church in the Council. Whenever, therefore, the Cable tells you that the definition has been passed, you may calculate upon my speedy return. It cannot be possible that they will keep us here much longer, as it can be done only at the total disregard of the health and life of the Bishops. Many of the poor men are badly lodged, lack all the comfort to which they were accustomed at home, and find the climate trying and debilitating.

Efforts are being made to draw up a form of definition that will meet with the *placet* of nearly all. Two extremes oppose this: Manning leads those who would put the Bishops to one side, and make the Pope infallible, without a condition of any kind. Unfortunately the Pope himself sides with that party, and has made his influence felt very markedly. Another extreme is made up of Gallicans, or of Bishops whose ideas run towards Gallicanism. Between the two it is to be hoped that a definition will be found that will not give the lie to all the past history of the Church; I have been much amused at some things here. For example, a Bishop from our side of the water has passed as a strong infallibilist and has received favors, etc. because he was so sound on the test question; the other day he made a speech on the Infallibility, professing his belief in it, etc. winding up with a definition, to which I would only be too happy to say *placet* at any time. He was only one of that large number who claim to believe that the Pope, speaking *ex cathedra* is infallible, without really understanding the meaning of the words. I have met many who wished to convert me, but when I cross-questioned them a bit, I found that they were as unsound as myself in the exaggerated sense of the question. An Irish Bishop who is a red hot Infallibilist, in a conversation the other day turned out to hold the same views as myself, with this difference that I insisted on the explanation of the doctrine

being put in black & white and he did not. The *formula* that does not contain full explanations and the proper conditions, such as are conceded in the Council by many of the strongest adherents of the doctrine will never meet with my approval, for without those conditions being expressed we should keep alive controversies and wranglings on the subject, worse than anything in the past.

The latest sensation here is a pamphlet of 100 pages by the Archbp. of St. Louis.[27] In it he makes some very bold assertions, and pays his respects to the Archbps. of Dublin, Westminster and Baltimore who had attacked him in the Council. As Dr. Kenrick had been cut off [from] his right to reply in the Council by the abrupt closing of the discussion in which he was attacked, and had been refused five minutes of personal explanation, he has published his pamphlet in which he goes over many things likely to make a stir. . . .

* * * *

Rome, July 8, 1870

. . . I am still in Rome and likely to be here for over two weeks to come. Rumor now says that we shall not have the public session until the 24th. There is no reason for this long delay that I can see except the fondness of every one in Rome for taking things easy. The definition, it seems to me, might have been got ready for the 17th. The only explanation offered is that the members of the *Deputatio de Fide,* with whom the question now rests, are disputing among themselves about the terms of the definition. It is easy to say, the Pope is infallible; it is not so easy to say how, when, under what circumstances, and about what matters he is infallible.

As the majority have assumed the responsibility of the definition, all the others now ask is to get that definition and leave Rome. The climate is fearful, hot, sultry and enervating. Even the Bishop of Madras[28] tells me that he suffers more from the heat here than at home. The only way to get along is to exclude the outside air, by

[27] Peter Richard Kenrick found himself one among about forty bishops unable to express an opinion because of the close of debate, so he had his *Concio* printed in Naples in order to have a hearing with the fathers of the council. Cf. the full text in Clancy, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-131.

[28] This vicar apostolic from India was Stephen Fennelly (1868-1880). That very day Archbishop McCloskey wrote that since he had seen in a New York paper that his see city was sweltering in above ninety-degree temperatures,

closing windows and doors. The evenings are more pleasant than the mornings. To make matters worse we are holding few Congregations; having had one on last Monday, we are to have another on next Monday, and probably no more than two more before the public and last session. On the evening of that day, I leave Rome and travel with great rapidity to get through my business in Lyons, Bordeaux, Paris and leave Liverpool on the 13th. of August in the Scotia. Bp. Bayley and others go in the same vessel. I shall, therefore, Deo volente, reach Rochester about the 25th. of August. . . .

Bishop Ryan of whom I wrote you a long account a few days ago is doing better. He is not yet out of danger, but there is reasonable hope of his ultimate recovery. The acute inflamation has passed, and as he has lived so long we look with confidence to his complete restoration to health. He has had a very trying time, with such a complaint, in such weather. His patience and resignation are admirable. No complaint, no murmur, no uneasiness escapes his lips. Although much reduced and greatly weakened, as soon as his removal to the country becomes possible, he will soon recover his strength. As I wrote in my previous letter, if you shall not have heard of his death by the time this reaches you, it will be because he has been restored to health.

You can continue writing to me until the end of July, directing to the care of Rev. R. W. Brundrit, Birkenhead. . . .

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Rome, July 17, 1870

At last we see the end of our stay in Rome. Yesterday, a general permission was given to all the Bishops who wish to go home to do so until the 11th. of November. A few days ago I applied for permission to return to my Diocese without the obligation of coming back and obtained it. This permission puts me on the safe side, although the chances of going on with the Council this year are very few and slim, on account of the European war just begun.

Tomorrow, the public session will be held in which the final voting on the Infallibility will take place. They have ended by making the

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"This quite surpasses us and makes us feel that we should not complain." John Cardinal Farley, *The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey* (New York, 1918), p. 284.

definition as absolute and strict as it was possible to make it. As a consequence a large *non-placet* vote will be recorded against it. What will be the consequence in some of these European countries God only knows.[29]

Bishop Ryan has had a long and tedious sickness during most of which his life was despaired of. I found him better yesterday and his physicians quite sanguine about his recovery. I have good reason to hope that he will be so much better by Monday that I shall be able to leave him.

It is my intention to quit Rome immediately after the public session, the evening of the same day. My time in Europe must necessarily be so short, that I do not care to stay here a day longer than is necessary.

I had expected to leave Liverpool in the Scotia on the 13th of August, but a letter just received by Bishop Bayley informs us that all the state-rooms but two of the worst are taken. I will, therefore, go in some other line that is not quite so popular. My departure will be about the same time. God willing, then, you may expect me in Rochester about the end of August.

You have more news about the European war than we have, and anything that I could write would be stale before the arrival of this letter. . . .

As I shall be busy packing today and making arrangements for my start, these few lines will have to answer for this letter.

With kind regards to your companions in the house and to all my friends, hoping soon to meet,

Very sincerely, your friend in Xt.

Bp. McQuaid

[29] At the general congregation on July 13, McQuaid had voted *non-placet* with six other Americans. Only Edward Fitzgerald, Bishop of Little Rock, persisted in this vote on July 18 (with one Italian companion), while one American changed to *placet* and the five others absented themselves from the public session. Clancy, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Enciclopedia Cattolica. Published under the direction of Pio Paschini, Rector of the Pontificio Ateneo Lateraneuse, Celestino Testore, S.J., and A. Pietro Frutaz, with the assistance of a large number of collaborators (Città del Vaticano: Ente per l'Enciclopedia Cattolica e per il Libro Cattolico. 1949-1954. Volumes IX-XII [1952-1954], OA-ZY; cols. xxvii, 2,000, with 136 plates; xxvii, 2,000, with 132 plates; xxvii, 2,048, with 164 plates; xxvi, 2,134, with 160 plates and indices. $20.00 per volume).

The *Enciclopedia Cattolica* has been published within the remarkably short period of about five years. The general scope and character of the work was described in the review of the first eight volumes [*Catholic Historical Review,* XXXVIII (October, 1952), 335-339]. Accordingly, it will be sufficient here to indicate some of the more significant contributions contained in the last four volumes and to give a general evaluation of the completed work.

The long and short articles on theology and related disciplines maintain the same high standard set in the earlier volumes. Cf., e.g., "Paolo, Apostolo" (IX, 706-726), "Papa" (IX, 752-777), "Pelagio e Pelagianesimo" (IX, 1071-1077, by G. de Plinval), "Penitenza" (IX, 1104-1131), "Pietro, Apostolo" (IX, 1400-1427), "Preghiera" (IX, 1923-1936), "Primato di san Pietro e del romano pontefice" (X, 6-19), "Protestantesimo" (X, 168-186), "Religione" (X, 694-704), "Religioni, Studio comparativo delle" (X, 704-741, by Pinard de la Boullaye), "Satana" (X, 1948-1953), "Satanismo" (X, 1954-1961), "Savanarolo" (X, 1986-1996), "Sensi Biblici" (I, 322-336), "Segreto" (XI, 252-254), "Simbolo e Simbolismo" (XI, 608-622), "Sincretismo" (XI, 662-682), "Turmel" (XII, 642-643), "Suore" (XII, 1528-1570, covering a total of 395 orders or communities), "Teologia" and "Teologia naturale" (XII, 1958-1976), "Zwingli" (XII, 1836-1840).

As noted in the review of the earlier volumes, the *Enciclopedia Cattolica* is unusually rich in up-to-date articles in the fields of philosophy, science, and medicine. In philosophy, cf., e.g., "Panteismo" (IX, 686-693), "Personalismo" (IX, 1228-1233), "Pessimismo" (IX, 1276-1279), "Platonismo" (IX, 1614) (IX, 1614-1623), "Positivismo" (IX, 1823-1827), "Pragmatismo" (IX, 1884-1889), "Razionalismo" (X, 578-582), "Realismo" (X, 598-601), "Rosmini Serbati" (X, 1359-1371), "Rousseau" (X, 1410-1416), "Scetticismo" (XI, 24-30), "Schelling" (XI, 39-43),

"Scolastica" (XI, 121-140), "Scotismo" (XI, 152-162), "Sensazione" (XI, 322-332), "Spinoza" (XI, 1127-1133), "Spiritualismo" and "Spiritualismo cristiano" (XI, 1153-1162), "Tommaso d'Aquino" (XII, 252-297), "Tempo" (XII, 1896-1902), "Vico" (XII, 1380-1387), "Vita" (XII, 1504-1515). In physics, cf.: "Radar" (X, 452-454), "Radio-attività" (X, 463-466), "Relatività, Teoria della" (X, 686-692), "Teorie fisiche" (XII, 1979-2004), "Termodinamica" (XII, 2001-2004). The fields of psychology and psychiatry are especially well represented. Cf., e.g.: "Psicanalisi" (X, 245-249), "Psicologia" (X, 250-255), "Psicologia sociale" (X, 257-259), "Psicologia sperimentale" (X, 259-261), and also the following articles: "Psicopatiche personalità," "Psicosi maniaco-depressiva," "Psicosi ossessiva," "Psicosi Tossinfettive," "Psicosomatica medicina," "Psicotecnica," "Psicoterapia," "Psicoterapia, chirurgica," "Schizofrenia," "Shockterapia."

As in the earlier volumes, there are a number of excellent articles in the fields of anthropology, political science, sociology, and related disciplines. Cf., e.g.: "Paleantropologia (Paleontologia umana)" (IX, 573-576), "Paleontologia" (IX, 591-600), "Poligenismo" (IX, 1676-1680), "Poliginia" (IX, 1680-1683), "Rappresaglia" (X, 526-530), "Razze umane" (X, 583-590), "Rivoluzione" (X, 1031-1035), "Schiavitù" (XI, 48-58), "Sindacalismo e Sindicato" (XI, 682-690), "Sistemi economici" (XI, 768-776), "Socialismo" (XI, 824-834), "Società" (XI, 836-850), "Sociologia" (XI, 876-880), "Statistica" (XI, 1209-1217), "Stato" (XI, 1259-1266), "Sterilizzazione" (XI, 1329-1332), "Terrorismo" (XI, 2022-2025), "Totemismo" (XII, 270-376), "Tradizioni poplari" (XII, 406-414), "Trattati internazionali" (XII, 446-450). Special attention is also called to the articles, "Storia, Filosofia della (XI, 1377-1385), and "Storiografia" (XI, 1387-1396).

There are a large number of articles devoted to countries, regions, and cities, as in the earlier volumes. Naturally, the most significant and valuable in this category are "Roma" (X, 1095-1268) and "Vaticano" (XII, 1040-1140); but cf. also, e.g.: "Oriente cristiano" (IX, 308-335), "Paesi bassi" (IX, 533-551), "Palestina" (IX, 611-626), "Parigi" (IX, 825-837), "Persia" (IX, 1205-1225), "Siria" (XI, 730-756), "Spagnia" (XI, 1019-1081), "Svezia" (XI, 1605-1628), "Svizzera" (XI, 1628-1662), "Trento" (XII, 463-479). Language, literature, and the arts are again well represented, e.g.: "Oratoria sacra" (IX, 182-194), "Paleografia musicale" (IX, 580-589), "Petrarca" (IX, 1288-1299), "Raffaello Sanzio" (X, 474-484), "Rinascimento" (X, 926-941), "Romanticismo" (X, 1311-1328), "Scenografia" (XI, 20-23), "Sillogi epigrafiche" (XI, 580-585), "Stoffe [Textiles]" (XI, 1356-1367), "Tasso" (XI, 1784-1794), "Teatro" (XI, 1817-1853), "Tertulliano" (XI, 2025-2033, by M. Pellegrino), "Tolstóy" (XII, 218-223), "Umanesimo" (XII, 724-731, by Toffanin),

"Vetro" (XII, 1335-1339). In the field of education, attention is called, e.g., to the articles "Pedagogia" (IX, 1052-1062), "Scuola" (XI, 187-197), and "Università" (XII, 857-864).

Given the scope of the *Enciclopedia Cattolica* as described in the review of the earlier volumes, general history and general biography receive much more space than one would ordinarily expect, and, for the most part, the articles concerned are well done. It may be observed here, too, that the bibliographies in Volumes IX-XII are usually adequate and up-to-date. The reviewer, however, must again call attention to weaknesses in articles dealing with the United States. Strange as it may seem, American secular history and biography are covered better, relatively speaking, than the history of the Catholic Church and its institutions proper. A total of forty-two columns is given to the "Stati Uniti" (XI, 1217-1258), while in the same volume Spain is given sixty-two columns, Sweden twenty-three columns, and Switzerland thirty-four columns. "Americanism" (col. 1237) is discussed in the same unsatisfactory manner as in the article "Americanismo" (cf. my review of Volumes I-VIII, p. 338). The treatment of the development of Catholic education is much too brief and superficial (col. 1238). In the bibliography on general history, etc. (cols. 1240-1241), there is no mention of Guilday's lives of Carroll and England or of Ellis' *Gibbons*. The section on educational organizations in the United States (cols. 1257-1258) is inadequate in several respects, the information being based solely, it seems, on an Italian handbook, *La scuola nel mondo* (Turin, 1949). Fortunately, nothing else is quite as bad as this: "b) Giardino d'infanzia (Children Garden)," although the statement (under 5. *Università*): "Al corso quadriennale del *College* segue il corso triennale universitario (Graduate School) nei vari rami di medicina, ingegneria, legge, pedagogia, giornalismo, ecc.," will do much more harm by the misinformation contained in it. In the article "Washington" (XII, 1652-1654), the description of the schools or "faculties" of the Catholic University of America is inadequate. The *Catholic University Bulletin* has not been a scholarly journal for many years, no mention is made of the *Jurist* or of the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, the Dante Society of the University deserves no formal mention, no reference is made to Trinity College, one of the oldest and most important Catholic colleges for women in the United States, etc. The Archdiocese of St. Louis receives two-thirds of a column (X, 1786), and that of St. Paul hardly more than half a column, with no mention of Archbishop Ireland's role in its development. In the article "Young Men's Christian Association" (XII, 1747), readers are given the impression that the Church in the United States has dealt with the question of Catholic membership in the organization only *recentemente*, although actually a definite policy has been in effect since the early 1900's. Further-

more, one might have expected to find biographical articles on John A. Ryan and Thomas J. Shahan, among others.

The *Enciclopedia Cattolica* is furnished with an *Indice sistematico* (XII, 1841-2134). There are forty-two general headings, with subdivisions under each heading. Thus, the second main heading, *Agiografia,* has the following subdivisions: I Generalità, II Santi, III Beati, IV Venerabili. The fourth main heading, *Archeologi cristiana,* is divided as follows: I Generalità, II Soggetti iconografici, III Luoghi, IV Cimiteri, V Argomenti vari, VI Archeologi. Such an index is unsatisfactory, and a good analytical index like that in our own *Catholic Encyclopedia* is really indispensable. Owing to the very large number of lemmata, however, the difficulty of consulting the new encyclopedia is not as great in practice as one might think.

The *Enciclopedia Cattolica* is an outstanding achievement. In spite of its regrettable shortcomings in dealing with the Catholic Church in the United States, it is to be warmly recommended as an indispensable, authoritative, and up-to-date work of reference on all matters pertaining directly or indirectly to the Catholic Church and Catholic culture in the fifties of the twentieth century. Would that we had such a comprehensive, up-to-date Catholic encyclopedia in English! Our own *Catholic Encyclopedia* remains our most significant scholarly contribution up to the present time, but it has long become obsolete. What we need now is a totally new work, informed by the same scholarly spirit as the old, but corresponding more in scope and content to the *Enciclopedia Cattolica.*

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The History of Israel. By Giuseppe Ricciotti. Translated by Clement della Penta and Richard T. Murphy. Two Volumes. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. xii, 430; x, 476, $15.00.)

With this handsome set Bruce has completed its English presentation of Ricciotti's famous biblical trilogy concerning Israel, Christ, and St. Paul. Like the other two in the series, this one follows the same method. Volume I begins with a summary introduction to the surrounding nations, utilizing most of the acquired results of archaeology. This enables the author to avoid holding up the historical narrative, and innumerable cross references to these early chapters are found throughout the book. The historical narrative begins with the patriarchs and goes down to the destruction of Jerusalem in 587. By way of introduction, Volume II discusses the Persian and Greek background and then resumes the historical narrative, continuing to Bar Kokba (135 A.D.). Supplementary maps

and tables, with very many good pictures, round out this long standard history of Israel. In line with Ricciotti's primary intention of producing a work of *haute vulgarisation,* the editor, Richard T. Murphy, O.P., has eliminated several of the footnotes and bibliographical references. In view of the fact that Ricciotti wrote this work in the 1930's, this should not bother anyone. The general reader will not notice it, and because of the immense amount of literature published about the Old Testament in the last twenty years, the specialist would have little interest in an antiquated bibliography.

The primary source for the artful narrative of Ricciotti is the historical books of the Old Testament. Rather infrequently does he allow himself to draw fully on the information that can be culled from the prophetical and wisdom books, although such men as Isaias and Jeremias necessarily have an important role. This makes for clarity and precision in detailing the main trends of the political history of Israel. At the same time, Ricciotti does not hesitate to introduce literary criticism into his narrative. Thus he recognizes that there are two accounts of the institution of the monarchy in 1 *Samuel* 8-11, and he proposes that Samuel changed his personal opinion and eventually sided with the more popular, monarchical, party. Again, he recognizes that there are two traditions concerning David's introduction to Saul in 1 *Samuel* 16-18, and confesses that we have no exact picture of the relationship which once existed between the two traditions. This should give the prospective reader confidence, for Ricciotti does not gloss over difficulties in Old Testament history; he comes to grips with the main problems and handles them well.

The editor missed an opportunity of bringing the narrative up to date *à la Ricciotti* when he omitted any reference to the recent (1939) publication of the fact that the exiled King Joachin and his family are mentioned in an ancient Babylonian document which confirms and illustrates the account in 4 *Kings* 25:25-29. On the other hand, the editor has taken the trouble to record the significance of the recent archaeological discoveries at Qumran and Murabba'at. The English speaking world is grateful to him for this presentation of Ricciotti's ever valuable *History.*

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Stonor. A Catholic Sanctuary in the Chilterns from the Fifth Century till Today. By Robert Julian Stonor, O.S.B. (Newport, Mon: R. H. Johns Ltd. 1952. Pp. 400. 21/—.)

The sub-title of this book describes very well its contents. Stonor Park in the Oxfordshire Chilterns lies in the very heart of England and has

passed in unbroken descent from father to son for at least 800 years. Two features emerging in the history of this secluded valley will probably appear in a new light to most readers. First, the survival of the Romanized Britons on quite a large scale in the Chiltern Hills and, linked with this, the strength of the evidence that these same Britons, who produced the martyr St. Alban at Verulamium more than three centuries before the coming of St. Augustine, had been increasingly Christian since the end of the second century. And, secondly, the tremendous pressure—tremendous both in the ferocity of its penalties and its long duration—which was brought to bear on those who clung to the old religious faith from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

The story, as well as the beauty of the ancient house of Stonor, has hitherto remained unchronicled, and, although family histories when written by one of the family naturally excite our suspicions as to their interest for others, in this case there does seem to be a quite unique story to tell. This book, as Father Stonor indicates in the preface, purports to put on record for the first time "a sufficiently exciting story of terrorism and torture, of disguised and hunted priests and a secret printing press, and of a faith which, in spite of rackings, hangings and quarterings, of imprisonments, banishments and huge fines, remained steadfast during almost three hundred years of persecution."

This, of course, refers to the second part of the book (pp. 205-358). That story alone, reminiscent of Father Gerard's *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*, would have been in some ways unique, for the chapel at Stonor is the only one in England where the Latin Mass was said continuously throughout the post-Reformation persecution. And it is not lacking in more general historical interest, for Stonor was no backwater which the currents of the times never reached. On the contrary, the family has remained throughout English history on terms of warm friendship with the successive kings and queens, and were even in friendly correspondence with the two chief architects of the Protestant Revolt in England—Thomas Cromwell and William Cecil. It is chiefly to pay a filial tribute to those successive generations, whose faith and loyalty were so deep and sincere that they would not compromise "come rack, come rope," that this book has been written.

However, the very formula of this narrative is a difficult one. It embraces too much—thirteen centuries—and yet too little—just one family. The author knew and accepted the challenge. He tried to bear in mind the danger of sacrificing the wood to the trees, and to trim the undergrowth of this particular wood as far as possible. Still, he introduces us, through a series of biographical sketches, to so many Stonors, their ladies, their in-laws, etc., that we are soon lost in a labyrinth of

dates and of strange English names. Maps, illustrations, and detailed genealogical tables do help, of course.

This is history as viewed under a microscope. Only the laboratory technician, as it were, specialized in English history could relish the book. It makes for difficult reading. The ordinary reader does not expect such minute details. And yet investigations of the kind are absolutely necessary to the cause of serious and definitive history. In fact, as we have mentioned, the delving into the history of this hitherto unnoticed corner of the Chilterns in the very heart of England will have laid bare a clearer picture, at least viewed from the religious angle, of many facets of English mediaeval life and of the sequence of events, which elsewhere have been pushed out of true alignment or have been obscured by the lack of true, undisturbed continuity.

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Sacerdozio e regno da Gregorio VII a Bonifacio VIII. Studi presentati alla sezione storica del congresso della Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 13-17 ottobre, 1953. [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae. Volume XVIII, Collectionis nn. 50-57.] (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1954. Pp. xi, 180.)

The eight papers dealing with mediaeval history presented to the historical section of the congress celebrating the fourth centenary of the Gregorian University have been published under the title *Sacerdozio e Regno da Gregorio VII a Bonifacio VIII.* Although the general theme is the complex set of relations between the spiritual and temporal orders from Gregory VII (1073-1085) to Boniface VIII (1294-1303), the book does not attempt to treat all aspects of the problem. Each of the eight papers deals with a different topic, and the value of the individual essays lies in the very evident competency with which each writer handled his subject within the limits prescribed by the Gregorian University. The text and footnotes show that the eight authors made use of the more important secondary sources, and certain of the essays are based on a considerable use of primary sources. Students of mediaeval history, especially those interested in political theory and legal relationships, will find the book helpful for its valuable bibliographical suggestions and criticism of sources.

A. M. Stickler, S.D.B., in "Sacerdozio e regno nelle nuove ricerche attorno ai secoli XII e XIII nei decretisti e decretalisti fino alle decretali

di Gregorio IX," emphasizes the influence of canon and civil law upon mediaeval social life, and the dependence of theologians and publicists of that age upon juridical thought in all questions concerning collective life. The body of the paper is a technical analysis, based on significant texts, of the much-debated question whether or not the emperor held his power directly from the pope. Michael Maccarrone, in "'Potestas directa' e 'potestas indirecta' nei teologi del XII e XIII secolo," examines the development during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the concepts of direct and indirect power. He utilizes as his *point de départ* the statement of John of Paris in 1302 that the doctrine of direct power, although of recent origin, was being freely discussed and that certain authoritative theologians upheld it. This is proved by a careful examination of the preceding century, the twelfth, in which no evidence is found that the theory of direct power was then held; the evidence Maccarrone adduces proves that it arose in the thirteenth century. Gerhart B. Ladner, in "The Concepts of *'Ecclesia'* and *'Christianitas'* and their Relation to the Idea of Papal *'Plenitudo potestatis'* from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII," defines the theories of the relationship between *sacerdotium* and *regnum*. According to the Carolingian tradition, which was a modification of the concept of the spiritual and temporal orders enunciated by Pope Gelasius (492-496), *sacerdotium* and *regnum* were both a part of the Church. Gregory VII also altered the Gelasian theory, and in his later years formulated the concept that two plenary powers, the spiritual and the temporal, each distinct, ruled separate spheres within the framework of Christendom. Professor Ladner devotes the remainder of his paper to the subsequent development of the Carolingian and Gregorian concepts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Bernardino Llorca, S.J., in "Derechos de la Santa Sede sobre España. El pensamiento de Gregorio VII," examines the policy of Gregory VII toward the princes of Europe, in order to determine why that pope followed a different course in respect to Spain. Walter Ullmann, in "Cardinal Roland and Besançon," analyzes the different interpretations of the term *beneficium*, which caused the celebrated dispute at Besançon in October, 1157. Angelus Walz, O.P., in "'Papstkaiser' Innocenz III. Stimmen zur Deutung," appraises the judgments of various contemporary historians concerning Pope Innocent III, disagreeing with those who deny that that pope held the doctrine of direct power. José M. Pou y Marti, O.F.M., in "Conflictos entre el pontificado y los reyes de Aragón en el siglo XIII," studies the relations between the papacy and the three Aragonese kings, Pedro II, Jaime I, and Pedro III. Angel Fábrega Grau, in "Actitud de Pedro III el Grande de Aragón ante la propia deposición fulminada por Martin IV," examines the religious and political aspects of the quarrel between Pope Martin IV and Pedro III of Aragón.

The specialized nature of these eight papers restricts their usefulness to specialists in mediaeval history. In the opinion of this reviewer four of the essays are especially to be recommended, those by Stickler and Maccarrone, because of their very able handling of mediaeval political theory, and the two final papers, dealing with Spain, which skillfully and interestingly present the history of certain important papal-regal disputes in the years immediately preceding the quarrel between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair of France.

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A History of the Catholic Church. By Fernand Mourret, S.S. Translated by Newton Thompson. Volume VII, *Period of the French Revolution (1775-1823).* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1955. Pp. x, 608. $9.75).

Thirty-four years have passed since Father Mourret published his comprehensive study of the history of the Catholic Church, and twenty-five years have elapsed since Father Thompson undertook the task of making Mourret's work available to those not conversant with French. The translator has been patient and persistent over the years, and in this volume, the seventh, resumes with the narration of the events which took place during the pontificate of Pius VI (1775-1799), continuing through to the year 1823 which marked the close of the reign of Pius VII.

For the sake of convenience this volume is divided into three parts. The first part serves the purpose of an introduction by way of setting the stage with a brief review of the *ancien régime* and of the efforts of Pius VI to meet the challenge of his times. Part two takes up the study of the French Revolution, with special reference to the fortunes of the Church during the various phases of that upheaval. Much attention is given to the trials of the Church consequent upon the various attempts to solve the problems created by the legislation embodied in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The third part deals with the adjustment made possible by the concordat of 1801, the struggle between Napoleon and Pius VII, the religious restoration which began with Chateaubriand, de Maistre, and others, and concludes with a brief review of the Church's efforts to continue the work of the foreign missions. An additional chapter, written by Father Cyril Karalevsky and dealing with the Eastern Church, completes the study of the Church during this era. Some readers will welcome the addition of the translation of the texts of the Declaration

of the Rights of Man and of the concordat of 1801 which are published in an appendix. The bibliography, a simple listing of the works referred to in the volume, will prove disappointing to not a few.

The lot of the translator is not always a happy one. If he wishes to annotate the original work, his task can become a heavy one; if he determines to hold himself to his primary task of adhering to the original text, he may be criticized for a lack of smoothness of style and for not bringing things up to date. Obviously, Father Thompson has determined to transmit an accurate translation of the French text without comment or embellishment, and in doing so he has done a considerable service for those who would otherwise be deprived of the benefit of Mourret's great fund of knowledge about the Church.

On the whole, this volume is well edited, but a few items escaped the notice of the proofreaders, e.g., on page 137 the reader will find the word "Jensenists"; on page 238, the word "gardarmes"; while on page 462, the King of Prussia in 1815 is given as Ferdinand William III. A few statements of Mourret's seem to cry out for an explanatory footnote, such, e.g., as the continuation of the confusing notion that the Congress of Vienna resumed its deliberations after the defeat of Napoleon (p. 461); it will likewise surprise some readers to learn that Metternich became an earnest defender of the Holy Alliance (p. 464).

However, in spite of these marring notes, the English reader will find here a worthwhile continuation of a major project, and because of this translation will have access to an immense amount of factual material about the history of the Church, even though he may at times get the impression that the universal Church was somewhat limited by the boundaries of France.

HAROLD L. STANSELL

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Tradition et histoire dans la controverse moderniste (1898-1910). By Lucio da Veiga Coutinho. [Volume LXXIII. Series facultatis theologicae, sectio B (N. 26)]. (Rome: Gregorian University. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 275.)

This book was presented in 1953 as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the doctorate in theology at the Gregorian University in Rome. The present volume is practically a reprint with only rare and insignificant changes made in the original text. The reason the author gives for the

reprint is his belief that certain facts of recent times pertaining to the life of the Church emphasize as, perhaps, never before the need of drawing a clear-cut distinction between the notions of tradition and history. He cites as an example—and an excellent one it is—the solemn definition by the present pontiff of the corporal assumption of our Blessed Lady into heaven. In 1949, Father Filograssi in his noteworthy *Traditio divino-apostolica et Assumptio B.V.M.*, had already pointed out that one of the most serious obstacles that stood in the way of the definition of the Assumption was the divergent views held by so many theologians on the meaning and content of Catholic tradition.

But the problem to which Father da Veiga Coutinho intends to draw our attention is the great heresy which began to plague the Catholic mind at the turn of this century and which in time became known as modernism. He records the fact that as history became a science in its own right—and for all practical purposes this means the nineteenth century—and interested itself in the past for its own sake, and not as a sort of apologia for the Church, scholars in various fields demanded more and more that the historical method be applied to all ideas including those of the divine-apostolic tradition. From this endeavor there arose, at least in part, the original problem of modernism. And the problem grew like a throbbing sore long before any explicit philosophy of modernism was so much as dreamed of. As M. J. Congar so well says in his scholarly article on "Theology" in the *Dictionnaire de théologie Catholique*, "Modernism grew out of the attempts made by various Catholic scholars to find the answer to what seemed to them to be a lack of conformity between the texts and the Church's teaching drawn from them." It is within this historical framework of modernism that our author seeks to resolve the problem concerning the relation between history and the divine-apostolic tradition.

To accomplish this task, Father da Veiga Coutinho makes a rapid but sufficiently accurate survey of the basic ideas proclaimed in the heresy of modernism. With excellent reason he stresses above all the writings of Alfred Loisy and George Tyrrell, representing, respectively, the main forms which modernism took in France and England. He brings the survey to a close by passing in review the main German and Italian modernists. In this portion of his book, he leans a great deal on the works of J. Rivière, especially *Le modernisme dans l'Eglise*. Without a doubt he establishes the fact that essentially, whether it was in France or England or Germany or Italy, these writers were agreed first, that there could be, and in fact actually were, real contradictions between certain data presented in the so-called divine-apostolic tradition and the findings of history, and, secondly, that when such conflicts occurred it was the divine-apostolic tradition that was at fault and must,

therefore, give way before the march of science. This was, of course, in effect to maintain that the Christian tradition did not consist in objective doctrines revealed once and for all by God and transmitted without alteration through the succeeding generations, but rather in some sort of subjective religious experience whose genuineness and universality would still be determined by the authority of the teaching Church. Perhaps, it it their insistence on this role of the Church more than any other factor that marks the modernist off from his fellow-traveler, the out-and-out rationalist. At any rate, for Loisy, Tyrrell, and all the others who followed more or less closely their line, Catholic tradition was, indeed, a faith, at times even a deeply burning faith, a soulful interpretation of certain sayings and actions which had their origin presumably, or sometimes certainly, in the person of Christ—all this excellent, indeed—but it was simply not history.

Obviously, the great defect here lay in the false notions that these writers and scholars had conceived concerning the nature of Christian tradition and its distinction from history, whether profane or ecclesiastic, and it is precisely here that the author of this book makes his real contribution. To accomplish his purpose he studied in particular two ideas: 1) the true notion of Christian tradition, and 2) the exact meaning of theological method and historical method, and the measure in which the magisterium of the Church directs the efforts of historical research when bearing on Christian tradition. The author maintains, and rightly so, that three writers had, perhaps, most to do with the clarification of the notion of tradition. They were Blondel, Bainvel, and Billot. Four Dominicans, viz., Lemonnyer, Jacquin, Schwalm, and Gardeil, helped him to establish the true meaning of theological and historical methodology. In this latter endeavor the author would have been assisted enormously had he had access to the dissertation of Brother Celestine Luke Salm, F.S.C., published by the Catholic University of America Press and entitled *The Problem of Positive Theology* (Washington, 1955).

Father da Veiga Coutinho, a priest of the Archdiocese of Goa, makes an apology in his introduction for his French. While a mistake slips in here and there, there are few for whom French is a foreign tongue who would not be rather proud of such a rendition as this. Elsewhere, however, when discussing the ideas of George Tyrrell, he expresses his regret that no one has yet presented a synthesis of Tyrrell's theology. Though not bearing that precise title, it seems to this reviewer that we have about as clear a notion of Tyrrell's specific theology as we shall ever get in the doctrinal dissertation published under the title *Dogma and the Development of Dogma in the Writings of George Tyrrell*, by James A. Laubacher, S.S., done at the Catholic University of Louvain in 1939. Unfortunately, both for our author and for his readers, this excellent

work on Tyrrell is never mentioned either in the text or in the bibliography.

LOUIS A. ARAND

The Catholic University of America

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Religion in the Development of American Culture. By William Warren Sweet. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1952. Pp. xiv, 338. $3.50.)

This book is the second in a projected four-volume series on religion in America. It brings the account from 1765 to 1840. The central theme is the part played by organized religion in the transit of civilization westward, and the remarkable opportunity Christianity had for experimentation in "Anglo-America only." The author evidently did not understand the immutability of the deposit of faith in Catholicism when he wrote that in the colonial empire of Spain "there was little chance for experiments or new developments. Spanish Roman Catholicism was transplanted to New Spain and Peru with little or no change" (p. viii). We also read in the preface: "In contrast [to the Spanish colonies] the English colonies welcomed religious refugees from every country in Western Europe with varying degrees of hospitality." Mindful of the anti-Catholic legislation existing in the thirteen colonies at the time of the American Revolution, one wonders just how far the word "hospitality" may be stretched.

It is quite natural that in a periodical of this nature the emphasis of a review of Professor Sweet's book should be on the Roman Catholic phases of the work. While it is true that the Roman Catholics were not a large group in the United States by 1840, they would seem to warrant a fuller treatment than they have received here. Moreover, what discussion the Roman Catholics do receive is most superficial, many times marred with unwarranted gaps, and in more places than one would expect, inaccurate.

The outstanding inaccuracy, perhaps, is the total acceptance of the myth of French interference in the establishment of the American hierarchy (pp. 78-79), so completely refuted more than twenty years ago by Jules A. Baisnée in his monograph, *France and the Establishment of the American Catholic Hierarchy. The Myth of French Interference* (Baltimore, 1934). In the section entitled "The Rise of Theological Seminaries" (pp. 178 ff.) there is not a single Catholic seminary or institution mentioned, although by 1838 the Catholic seminary in Philadelphia, to mention only one, had already produced fifteen priests. In the "Rise and

Development of Religious Literature" not a single Catholic title of a newspaper, periodical or book is listed. True, there were not many, but the *United States Catholic Miscellany* was by that date nearly twenty years old, containing among other items Bishop England's "Address to Congress," and the *Catholic Herald* of Philadelphia, seven years old in 1840, contained the future Bishop Hughes' responses to Breckinridge. There were not many American publications in Catholic theology, but Bishop Kenrick's work on *The Primacy* in 1838 was considered outstanding even by enemies of the papacy. A perusal of Gorman's *Catholic Apologetical Literature in the United States, 1784-1858* (Washington, 1939) could have supplied the apologetical literature of the period. While one could not rightly expect a full treatment of the four Baltimore councils held up to 1840, he might well look for some notice of their pastoral letters as reflecting the Catholic position as, e.g., the 1837 pastoral which discussed the important problem of allegiance to Church and State.

Possibly a study of the late Professor Purcell's essay, "Background of the Declaration of Independence," in *Democracy: Should It Survive* (Milwaukee, 1943), would balance Schaff's "The Bellarmine-Jefferson Legend" which the author states "completely exploded" the Catholic claim of Bellarmine influence on the American revolutionary opinion (p. 49). One wonders what point is made in a volume of this kind covering the years 1765 to 1840 by the author's assertion that the account of the Bellarmine influence since an article in 1925 in the *Catholic Historical Review* "has been widely accepted by the American Roman Catholic hierarchy" (p. 49).

In citing Charles Carroll's hope expressed in 1827 that "no one [Christian religion] would become so predominant as to become the religion of the state," Dr. Sweet added "a sentiment, doubtless, which many present-day American Roman Catholic prelates would repudiate" (p. 120). There is little that is pertinent about that addenda and little comprehension in the author's comment, after mentioning that Bishop Cheverus of Boston on occasion preached in Protestant pulpits, to the effect that "It is a pity that Irish truculence should have so speedily put an end to this type of urbane Catholicism in America" (pp. 123-124). Scholars will likewise wonder at the abundant citations of Maynard's *Story of American Catholicism* (New York, 1941). Had the author read Stock's review of that work in this periodical he would have used it more carefully and sparingly. John Gilmary Shea surely would have served better than Maynard for the years of this volume.

Few living American historians have a better writing style than Sweet and this volume will surely add to his reputation. One may hope, however, that before he publishes his next volume in the series he will have read

more deeply on the increasingly important Catholic side in order that he may recount it with more understanding. The other Christian sects discussed in this volume are handled ably and in spots brilliantly.

HUGH J. NOLAN

Immaculata College

Catholicism in America. A Series of Articles from the Commonweal. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1954. Pp. viii, 242. $3.75.)

As each successive anti-Catholic wave developed in American history, Catholics responded in a distinctive way. Thus the Nativists, Know-Nothings, Klu Klux Klan, American Protective Association, and the most recent Blanshardism, while all strikingly alike in origin and character, yet reveal special qualities of bigotry and un-democratic prejudice representative of each age. Catholic apologetic literature defending the Church and answering these charges also represents the state of American Catholicism at each stage of its development. The collection of this literature, including the essays and tracts of Bishops John England, John Hughes, as well as the articles of Orestes Brownson, the Paulist Press, and *America,* make up an invaluable study of the growth of American Catholicism itself. For while the truths of Christianity are presented unchanged, the developing psychological, political, social, and economic position of the Catholic body emerges in each group of answers to these persisting charges.

The work under review, a collection of essays originally appearing in the *Commonweal* during 1953, is one answer to Blanshardism, the post-World War II manifestation of anti-Catholicism in American life. All the contributors are Catholic laymen except two, viz., the distinguished Jewish writer, Will Herberg, and the Protestant theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr. All contributors take a liberal approach to such problems as relations between clergy and laity, Church and State, social reform, education, science, literature, art, and the movies. These attitudes have been expressed in one way or another in the *Commonweal* for thirty years. They have significance as representing that point of view, and are important as contemporary opinions by Catholic laymen. The authors of each of the seventeen essays enclosed in this binding approach the problem in a provocative way. There is no common theme in the various treatments, and no position to maintain. It is interesting to note, however, that most of the participants use the current fad, so popular in educational circles at present, of answering charges by employing the technique of critical self-analysis and evaluation. Thus this volume con-

tains much frank probing of present-day Catholic attitudes, usually with a progressive orientation.

The main weakness of these essays appears in the lack of knowledge of the historical past of the Church in the United States too often evident throughout the chapters. Not only have individual Catholic contributors, who it could be expected had made such investigations, not become conversant with the full and exact past of American Catholicism; but they also evidence at times a readiness to make their judgments without that necessary background. The result is a journalistic answer to the consistent strain of anti-Catholicism in American life. The book emphasizes, therefore, the growing need for more serious and scholarly research in our American origins, and more especially concerning Catholic conditions in western society following the Protestant Revolt. Such materials are available. The literature on the American Church must become more familiar, particularly to Catholic journalists and essayists. Historical causation, complex phenomenon that it is, has not as yet become a part of Catholic apologetics in this country.

It is fortunate that these essays have been preserved in book form since they represent the opinions of some Catholics on problems of contemporary religion and society. They are one answer to a persistent prejudice in the country's history, an answer that is interesting and generally effective as the thought of Catholicism on its way to maturity in the United States.

COLMAN J. BARRY

St. John's University
Collegeville

The Abbé Correa in America, 1812-1820. The Contributions of the Diplomat and Natural Philosopher to the Foundations of Our National Life. Edited by Richard B. Davis. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1955. [*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.* New Series, Volume 45, Part 2.] Pp. 87-197. $2.00.)

Professor Davis has edited some 110 letters by, to, or about the Abbé Jose Correa da Serra, a Portuguese, who arrived in this country in 1812, became Portuguese Minister to the United States in 1816, and returned to his own country in 1820. The letters, with several exceptions, were written during Correa's stay in America. There are letters to or from Thomas Jefferson, Francis W. Gilmer, James Madison, James Monroe, John Vaughan, Dr. Caspar Wistar, among others. The bulk of the correspondence is with Jefferson and Gilmer, then a young lawyer not yet established at Richmond. The introduction and notes are full and informa-

tive. A check list of Correa's extant letters to foreign correspondents during the period is included. Most of the letters have not been previously printed. The Boyd edition of Jefferson's writings has not as yet reached 1812; a few items of the Correa-Jefferson correspondence appeared in the Definitive Edition of the latter's writings. The editor indicates where each letter can be found. The publication of this study by the American Philosophical Society is most fitting, since Correa was one of its most active members while he was in the country.

Correa was something of a type in the eighteenth century, the learned, "liberal" abbé, and his career is of considerable interest for this reason. Due to the "advanced thinking" of his father who was something of a savant, the family had to leave Portugal. They found refuge in Naples where Correa was educated along scientific, linguistic, and literary lines. Moving on to Rome he found a powerful and generous patron in Don John of Braganza, the Duke of Lafoens, a scientifically inclined member of the Portuguese ruling house. In 1775, for reasons which can only be surmised, he received holy orders and two years later he was awarded the degree of doctor of canon and civil laws. In 1779 Correa, with the aid of the duke, founded the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon. The abbé appears to have been generally suspect in certain quarters and matters came to a head when in 1795 he extended hospitality to the refugee Girondist, Peter Broussonet, with whom he had become acquainted through common botanical interests. He and his guest found it the part of prudence to leave Portugal. Correa went to England where, apparently due to the influence of still powerful friends, he became counsellor to his country's legation in London. Unfortunately, the Portuguese ambassador at the time was Don Lourenco de Lima, a member of a powerful family which did not look with favor on the abbé for political and religious reasons. After a brief period that was highly unpleasant for both, Correa departed for France where he moved in circles that included Jussieu, the botanist, Lafayette, Joel Barlow, du Pont de Nemours, Humboldt, Cuvier, and the botanist Touin, probably confirming the ambassador's worst suspicions. Here he formed a liaison with an Esther Delavigne by whom he had a son. His failure to write something in support of Napoleon's invasion of Spain and Portugal in 1811 caused the emperor to let the abbé know he might leave France at any time. With a number of letters of introduction he departed for the United States on board the *Constitution*.

Such a man, learned, charming, experienced, made quite an impression on the Americans he met. He gave advice to Jefferson on the proposed University of Virginia, the European situation, and Federalist activities. He was intimate with Robert Walsh, the literateur and editor, exchanged sharp repartee with Randolph of Roanoke, was one of the circle of Dr. Wistar, and concerned himself with salvaging the diaries of Meriwether

Lewis. The letters are valuable as a gauge of the intellectual life of the middle and southern states in the early National period, a subject about which knowledge is not as general as it should be. He was cool to New England for political and religious reasons.

As Professor Beale notes, his contributions to "the foundations of our national life" are hard to assay. They were in the intellectual order apart from his diplomatic activities. The latter were not successful and rather soured, apparently with reason, this child of "the century of lights" on republicanism in action if not in theory. Professor Beale leans to the opinion expressed by Joseph Cogswell to George Ticknor that Correa's main contribution to American life was to create in a number of people a powerful excitement to intellectual ambition, something the country needed at the time.

The abbé died in Portugal in 1823 several months after the revolution which restored absolute monarchy to that country. His world had pretty much collapsed around him, the bright brittle world of the Enlightenment with its hopes for a soon to be realized heavenly city on earth, one to be founded on a knowledge of the natural sciences and a belief in the fanciful anthropology of Rousseau. It is unfortunate that Correa's letters to Robert Walsh were destroyed. In them the abbé, who was religious in a vague eighteenth-century sort of way and who sent his son to St. Mary's College in Baltimore, might have given some idea as to how he reconciled the beliefs of his times with his apparent religious convictions.

VINCENT C. HOPKINS

Fordham University

Brownson Reader. A Selection of the Writings of Orestes A. Brownson. Edited, with an Introduction, by Alvan S. Ryan. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1955. Pp. xii, 370. $4.50.)

This work supplies in very commendable fashion a long felt need for a volume of representative selections from the writings of Brownson. There has been a revival of interest in Brownson in recent years. Three additional biographies have appeared, as well as many articles and monographs. But to where could the interested reader turn if he wished to approach Brownson directly? The twenty stout volumes of his collected *Works* are not always easily available; when they are, their very bulk could easily discourage anyone not a specialist. The one-volume selection of the writings, edited by Henry F. Brownson, his son—he was also responsible for the collected *Works*—has long been out of print and is exceedingly rare. To produce a "representative" selection is no easy task. Brownson's thought not only underwent an evolution, but also, in some

respects, a revolution. His religious experiences carried him from strict Protestantism, through agnosticism and Unitarianism, and on to Catholicism. He sustained two periods of liberalism, and two of conservativism, each period having its characteristics. The conscientious editor must keep this in mind. There is an added difficulty: Brownson's articles tend to be quite long; a dozen or so of the hundreds he wrote could easily fill a modest volume.

Professor Ryan has conscientiously faced these difficulties, and faced them with no little success. He employs a number of devices to keep matters always in proper perspective. An introductory chapter offers a brief account of Brownson's career, recapitulating the major developments of his thought and outlining his role on the American scene. The selections which follow are grouped into six sections: Society and Politics; Education; Literature and Literary Men; Philosophy; Religion; Christianity and Civilization. Each section is prefaced by a short explanatory essay of the editor, and each selection by some brief notes. Both prefaces and notes are judicious and helpful. The selections under the major classifications are given in chronological order, so that the growth of Brownson's thought can be followed. None of the articles included is given in its entirety. The editor has sacrificed the complete text in order to indicate the full range of Brownson's thought with all its vicissitudes. However regrettable this may be, it is difficult to see how the editor could have done otherwise. His work is destined for the reader unfamiliar with Brownson. Given its character, he has probably chosen the wiser course.

Reviewers are sometimes prone to suggest that a work of this nature could be vastly improved if *their* preferred selections had been included. We shall resist that temptation. Mr. Ryan is a competent and earnest student of Brownson. His personal choices have been made on the basis of a long familiarity with the works of the Vermonter. They serve handsomely the purposes of the book. Brownson remains one of the noblest figures of the American Catholic heritage and Mr. Ryan's work should do much to keep his name and achievements alive.

FRANCIS E. MCMAHON

Chicago, Illinois

Anselm Weber, O.F.M., Missionary to the Navaho, 1898-1921. By Robert L. Wilken. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. xiv, 255. $4.50.)

The title of this book gives the name of the principal character and the length of his missionary apostolate. While the account, indeed, centers around Father Anselm, he is by no means the sole prominent figure. Only

in comparison with him, several other Franciscans and Mother Katharine Drexel, are not the subject of this biography. The geographical coverage likewise is widespread. As a helpful map on the second page reveals, the action takes place over four states, mostly in the Great Basin. Father Wilken has succeeded in becoming bone and sinew with his subject, although apparently never having filled the classic requirement of having lived and eaten with Father Anselm. His predecessor among the sons of Saint Francis is not only depicted as a valiant, self-sacrificing missionary, but also as a man whose consumption of cigars was equivalent in cost today to about two packs of cigarettes. The reader glows with the warmth of the first Christmas breakfast in the mission's kitchen after the Masses had been celebrated, or sorrows when several years of patient instruction appear to have produced superficial spiritual effects.

In October, 1898, three Franciscans, including Father Anselm, reassumed the southwestern mission field which other brown robes had started three centuries before. A boarding school was opened in 1902, and from this center of the industrial type, other branches reached out in an effort to bring the Navaho to the shelter of his Father's house. Added to the spiritual obstacle of an imbedded paganism, was the handicap of an unknown language. The second hurdle had to be surmounted successfully before the first could be attempted. Father Anselm never became an accomplished linguist himself. Notwithstanding, his working knowledge of the language was more than adequate for touching the hearts of many and winning the respect of all the tribe.

Although that purpose is not stated, this work reveals the dependence of the missionaries in the field upon the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in Washington. The successive directors during this period were Monsignori Joseph A. Stephan and William H. Ketcham. They added many personal touches to the functions of the office in the national capital. In mentioning that Major [James] McLaughlin was sent from Devil's Lake, Minnesota [North Dakota], by the bureau to help settle a threatened Navaho uprising in 1913, the given name of this veteran of Indian work was not recorded in the text, nor was his name included at all in the index. The failure to identify characters properly extends even to many members of the hierarchy, they as well as others lacking given names or identification of their dioceses. On April 23, 1955, the *Saturday Evening Post* reported that the United States Public Health Service is now supplying the medical care which Father Anselm conceived as an avenue of entry into the redman's soul. Lack of funds prevented his realizing his dream. In 1955 this attention is being given from federal funds, but the paganism of the Navaho is preserved as a cultural trait!

The extensive bibliography has the author's critical estimate of most entries. The illustrations—for which there is no table—are well placed in

the text. The proofreading has been excellent, and the footnotes provide ample documentation. However, it would have been more correct to have indicated in them that some of the entries from the archives of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions were of copies of outgoing correspondence and not of originals.

PETER J. RAHILL

Saint Louis University

LATIN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

El santo que libertó una raza: Pedro Claver, S.J., su vida y su epoca. By Angel Valtierra, S.J. (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional. 1954. Pp. xxi, 908).

There are few figures in the history of the Americas with so universal an appeal as the "Apostle of the Negroes," Saint Peter Claver. The legends that clustered so promptly about his name are evidence of the impression he made on the imagination of his contemporaries and successors. Unfortunately for history, however, the cult has somewhat tended to obscure the man. When one adds that personal documentation in his case is very scanty—only one of his letters is known—it becomes clear why he has been left so long, in the author's words, "among the saints without a biography."

Father Valtierra, a Colombian Jesuit, has undertaken to remedy this situation by providing a full length life; along with an account of the times to supply the background against which alone he can be fully understood. If he has not achieved the interiorized biography we would like to have, if the saint is still shown to us largely at second hand through the eyes of his associates, this is due to the nature of the documents. The primary sources used were the sworn statements collected for the process of beatification and canonization; these were supplemented by archival materials from Rome, Spain, and Colombia—none of it very rich. The use made of these documents impressed the reviewer as judicious and scholarly. Father Valtierra's account is vastly better than anything previously available.

One may regret, while reading the section on the times, that more use was not made of studies in languages other than Spanish or French. These might have modified some of the views expressed and enriched the historical account. None of the recent North American scholars who have written on slavery, with the exception of Father La Farge, is mentioned in footnotes, bibliography, or text. It may strike one as somewhat odd, incidentally, to find Harriet Beecher Stowe quoted as an authority on slavery!

The text is marred by some inaccuracies, most of the petty sort that might easily have been caught by careful reading of the manuscript. The book also badly needs an index. However, the material on New Granada, and particularly the vivid account of colonial Cartagena, will delight many readers. There is a very satisfying assortment of plates and illustrations.

For those who may not care for the scholarly impedimenta the author has published a slender volume of 123 pages for the general public under the title: *El esclavo de los esclavos.*

EDWIN A. BEILHARZ

University of Santa Clara

Black Robes of Lower California. By Peter Masten Dunne, S.J. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1952. Pp. x, 540. $6.50.)

This is the fifth in a series of scholarly volumes on the activities of the Jesuits in New Spain during the colonial period. Four of these volumes have been the work of Father Dunne, appearing at precise intervals of four years, and all have been issued by the University of California Press as part of a project initiated by the late Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton. To the south of our State of California runs a long finger of rough and generally infertile land called Lower California. It is the Baja California which the Spanish colonials so named to distinguish it from the present American state which they then termed Alta California.

This volume tells the story of Lower California's brief place in the sun. It is a story which will never be known and cherished like the story of Upper California. That is not the fault of writers like Bolton, Englehardt, or Dunne. Nor is it said to disparage the valiant missionary efforts of the Jesuits who labored in that tough peninsula from 1697 to 1768, or of the efforts of the Franciscans and Dominicans who followed them. Nature, the interests of the Spanish Crown, the exigencies of Pacific defense, and later Anglo-American interest were to decree that Lower California should decrease and Upper California should increase. Father Dunne's readable account covers the period of Jesuit missionary activity in Lower California. It is not new in its main outlines because Bolton and the Franciscan, Father Englehardt, had gone over the ground in some detail. However, much has come out of the archives since these men wrote and the story needed a fresh and fuller telling.

Father Kino, most of whose career was not in Lower California but on the mainland opposite it, stirred up the interest in Lower California

from which the Jesuit mission venture developed. From 1683 to 1685 he initiated missionary activity in the southern part of the peninsula, but was forced to abandon the project. Father Juan Maria Salvatierra revived the interest, and he and Kino were authorized to re-open the California mission field in 1697. Kino, however, was kept in Pimería instead because of his value to that unsettled land. The mission center of Loreto on the southeast side of the peninsula was established in 1697, the first of a string of seventeen which ran from the tip of the peninsula almost to its northern end. Missionary interest never lagged, but an amazing combination of natural and human obstacles made it touch-and-go for a long time. The land was inhospitable, the natives probably the lowest in the cultural scale in all of colonial North America, and the approaches to the land by way of the Gulf of California always treacherous. By 1768 when the Jesuits were removed from the missions in the general expulsion of the Black Robes from the entire Spanish world, the missions were solidly established but scarcely flourishing in the way those across the gulf had prospered.

Father Dunne has turned out a top-flight piece of historical writing. His previous works on the missions on the mainland have made him so conversant with the whole context in which the Lower California story is set that he narrates it with ease, confidence, and great clarity. He gives an economy of background which is the mark of the expert who knows just how much is necessary. He has emptied the documentary store-houses of all they have to offer on the subject. As a Jesuit he deals with his subject with the sympathy it deserves, but never at the expense of fairness. The touchy subject of the accusations against the Jesuits and the matter of the expulsion (Chapters XXXI and XXXII) he handles with coolness and fairness, defending the order but not entirely.

It is difficult to criticize this work adversely. It would be easy to say that the author failed, at the end of his volume, to give the reader a really clean shot at the missions, in terms of success or failure, and of their impact upon the native population at the time the Jesuits withdrew in 1768. The preface to the work, in which Father Dunne has some important things to say about various interpretations men make of this and of all missionary activity to the American Indian, would indicate that this lack of interpretative summary was intended. The author gives the history of the Jesuit missions in Lower California. Each one is left, after reading the full narrative, to judge for himself. He will anyhow.

The value of the book is enhanced by five short appendixes, copious notes, an exhaustive bibliography, a dozen illustrations of men and places connected with the narrative, a good index, and an original map of Lower California and the Jesuit missions. The printing and general format are

of the excellence one has come to take for granted with the University of California Press.

ROBERT J. WELCH

State University of Iowa

The Political and Economic Activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata Region: The Hapsburg Era. By Magnus Mörner. (Stockholm: Library and Institute of Ibero-American Studies. 1953. Pp. xv, 254. $5.50.)

In his own words, Dr. Mörner has attempted to present not "new hypotheses" but a "conscientious and well-documented investigation" of the "political-administrative and economic activities of the Jesuits in the Province of Paraguay during the seventeenth century." The work, written originally in Swedish, was translated by Albert Read. Because he was writing on a subject strange to his countrymen, the author has included much introductory material, some of which might well have been excluded in the English translation. Thus, he has introductory chapters on "The Jesuit Order," a "Survey of Sources and Literature," "The Organization of the Spanish Colonial Empire under the Hapsburgs," "Brazil during the Spanish-Portuguese Union," and "The Plata [*sic*] Region at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century." There follow four chapters tracing the history of the Jesuit reductions from 1585 to 1700, and a fifth chapter entitled "Opinions of Earlier Writers and the Author's Conclusions." A statistical excursus, six appendices (lists of officials), bibliography, glossary, biographical index, and three well-drawn maps, round out the volume.

Professor Mörner has been, almost without exception, very fair in his treatment of difficult questions like the Jesuits' constant fight against *servicio personal* of the Indians for the colonists. He usually lets the sources, both primary and secondary, speak for themselves. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that in the complicated question of the struggle between Bishop Cárdenas and the Jesuits he seems to predispose his readers by immediately characterizing the bishop as appearing to be "unusually ambitious, energetic and ruthless" (p. 115). Can it be said with certainty that personal motives were the guiding motives of Bishop Cárdenas? Would it not have been better to place this struggle in its larger outlines as one more facet of the argument between Creole elements (represented by Cárdenas) and European and Spanish elements (represented by the Jesuits)?

It is interesting to note that Bishop Cárdenas began his career at the Jesuit College of San Martín in Lima. In the Archivo Histórico Na-

cional in Madrid—(which Dr. Mörner did not visit)—there is a MS *Catálogo* listing the students of San Martín. In it we find the following notation (No. 107):

D. Cristóval de Cárdenas, de Chuquiabo. Entró en 31 de Julio de 15 años. Fué religioso de San Francisco donde se nombró Fray Bernardino. Fué Lector de Teología, Predicador muy Apostólico, Difinidor de esta Provincia, Comisario Visitador de Ydolatrias por el Concilio Provincial Argentino, donde quemó 12000 Idolos, y Obispo del Paraguay donde pasó muchos trabaxos, y murió electo de Popayan.

It is to be regretted that the author did not have more time to study in the archives of Spain where much of the Cárdenas story still lies hidden.

In general, however, Dr. Mórner's book is to be highly recommended. The author comes to the conclusion that the great success of the Jesuits, politically and economically, was due to the very organization and spirit of the Jesuit Order itself, which found an admirable field in the somewhat neglected La Plata region of the seventeenth century.

MATHIAS C. KIEMEN

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Champion of Reform. Manuel Abad y Queipo. By Lillian Estelle Fisher. (New York: Library Publishers. 1955. Pp. xi, 314. $6.00.)

Under the scholarly direction of Miss Fisher this remarkable bishop throws a powerful searchlight on the prize Spanish province of the new world at the moment of independence. For years she has cultivated this particular field, and her familiarity with the enormous documentary treasures enables her to present a challenging picture. She has a good eye, too, for the dynamics of society, and it is probably for that reason that she chose this key figure in the Mexican story as the subject for her biography. It is, of course, not the standard type of biography, with the entire human story of Abad unfolded in full length. The man, instead, becomes the vehicle to tell a larger history than his own life. He tried to save New Spain for the Spanish Empire, and he gave gigantic effort to that task. He failed. His last ten years were spent in the custody of an Inquisition whose miserable short-sightedness cost a miserable king his finest overseas servant.

Born in 1751 as the natural son of the illustrious house of Abad in the region of Oviedo, his obscure origin laid no blight on the driving mind and indomitable spirit of a character almost unique in history. He received a complete university and ecclesiastical education, and then crossed over to America in the train of the Archbishop of Comayagua in Guatemala.

In 1779 he became the fiscal promotor, or attorney-general, in the archdiocese, and legal adviser to the royal *audiencia* or supreme court of Guatemala. Five years later he was attached to the Diocese of Michoacan, and there he showed such superb command of his broad duties that he became the successor of Bishop San Miguel in 1810.

Michoacan was the home territory of Hidalgo and Morelos, the two stout initiators of Mexican independence. The movement broke just as Bishop Abad took full possession of his see. He saw the flood rising, and like a titan he strove to breast the waters. Gifted with fine speech, an exact and ready pen, courage invincible, and a masterful spirit, he spoke and wrote and attempted to organize the forces all the way from Michoacan to Madrid. Yet he saw, as did few of his contemporaries, the utter folly of the regime under Carlos IV, and the corrosive effects of Bourbon policies. The tinkering with currency, the sequestration of the *Obras Pias* whose value represented much of the economic capital in the viceroyalty, the clerical tolerance of uncontrolled revolution, the envies and jealousies that reached all the way up to the crown: on all these he composed memorials whose data will serve the needs of future scholars, and whose message should have roused officialdom to reform and to strenuous and positive direction of the current social tendencies. Those who know the story realize what inept and traitorous administrators begot. For himself, the position he had taken brought vicious enmities to strike him from every direction—revolutionary ecclesiastics, envious civil place-seekers, piqued royal officers. The upshot was a citation back to Spain, where the Inquisition and the false-hearted Ferdinand VII combined to ruin Abad's good name, to remove him illegally from his bishopric, and to bring him personally to so low an estate that he died in 1825, captive in a small monastery, a poor and much misunderstood man. The reader, as he concludes the narrative, joins Othello in that famed exclamation, "Oh, the pity of it."

It has been said above that the materials underlying this book have a special value for him who would rewrite the blurred account of history in the making of independent Mexico. They are well indicated throughout the text, indeed almost to the point of satiety, for it quickly becomes clear that they deserve a much larger and more penetrating study. Alamán, the only one who has given us a creditable picture of the movement, certainly did not use one-tenth of what is described in the bibliography of this work. He, and many after him, make it all seem so simple, but Alamán was not of the stature of Abad, no matter how great a figure he cut in the years down to Juarez. The analysis of the life of the Church, of the currents in clerical thought, of the enormously rich economy so strangled by Bourbon plans and by the outside forces of the Napoleonic world, of the peacocks striding about in official robes, of the new secret

societies—these are some of the source materials whose use will certainly lead to valuable works on that era of revolutionary change.

The task chosen by Miss Fisher was to paint the tragedy of the bishop. That is done with integrity. In her further efforts to develop the underlying theme, she is plainly handicapped in the two areas of economics and religious matters. Pastor's *History of the Popes* (XXXV, 70) would have clarified for her the illegality of the trial and disbarment of the bishop. Hamilton in his writings on price, banking, currency, corporations, in the earlier Spanish Empire enters many a demurrer against her innocent conclusions. She is quite uncritical of the strange sums and fiscal views of Abad, who with all his alertness and progressive outlook, lacked something of balance in figures and opinions. Miss Fisher might have been helped by a knowing critic to avoid calling a chapel a sacristy (p. 13), of giving "institution" instead of "instruction" to the bishop (p. 31), of confusing Masonic with religious orders (p. 255). Yet her citations are remarkably well proofread, and they are the best part of the book.

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The Protestant Denominations in Colombia. By Eduardo Ospina, S.J. (Bogotá: National Press. 1954. Pp. 212.)

Protestantism, as the author of this book points out, has existed in Colombia since 1856, when a Presbyterian minister arrived in Bogotá at the suggestion of Captain James Fraser, a Scotchman, who belonged to the British forces which fought with Colombians in their war for independence from Spain. Since 1910 other sects have arrived, first with a view to providing services for their correligionists, mostly foreigners, but more recently with the purpose of proselytizing the Colombians themselves. About twenty-seven sects, most of them with headquarters in the United States or Great Britain, are now established in that country, with a total membership probably not exceeding 50,000 of the national population of 11,500,000.

The Protestant problem stems principally from the fact that Colombia is a strongly Catholic nation, both by tradition and faith, with 99.5% said to be Catholic in various degrees of active practice. The Catholic Church is the officially recognized religion of the nation. Freedom of conscience, of religious opinions, and of worship is guaranteed to all cults, not contrary to Christian morals or the law. This includes the conducting of Protestant services within the buildings appointed for this purpose as

well as of schools for Protestant children. But it does not extend to public propaganda of non-Catholic religions outside their authorized churches. It was inevitable, therefore, that social problems should arise as soon as the Protestant sects began an open, active campaign of propaganda and conversion. This campaign has been intensified since the end of World War II.

Unfortunately, it appears that this recent Protestant evangelical zeal has not been maintained exclusively on the level of positive religion but has been extended through the press, pulpit, loud speakers, and phonographs, to attack the Catholic religion and the Catholic clergy in ways regarded as offensive and insulting to Catholics. Protestant forces have countered this reaction with allegations of violence and, particularly through the press in the United States and England, have endeavored to create an international impression of religious persecution against them, reflecting unfavorably upon the Colombian government and nation itself. The principal source of Protestant news stories abroad as well as of local propaganda is the so-called Evangelical Confederation of Colombia (CEDEC), which sends out bulletins in Spanish from Bogotá, Cali, and Ibague and, since 1952, has issued its "Reports on Religious Persecution in Colombia" in English.

In this book, Eduardo Ospina, S.J., who is a professor in the Pontifical Xaverian University and the National University at Bogotá, analyzes the situation and endeavors to defend the Catholic record, as well as the good name of his country, by an examination of various cases in point. In the first section, he takes up the history of Protestantism in Colombia, its legal position, methods of propaganda, and actual results. The second part is devoted to a study of the political backgrounds and implications of the Protestant campaign, its implied involvement in the "War of Banditry" which has worried the country since 1948, and a critical examination of various atrocity stories in the light of Catholic testimony. The final chapter analyzes the mission problem of Colombia, relative to the government circular of September 3, 1953, which has restricted active work in the missionary areas to Catholic clergy and religious, in accordance with the basic laws. It is the contention of Father Ospina that, while regrettable incidents have occurred, particularly among villagers indignant against anti-Catholic statements and activities, the press releases issued by the CEDEC and its affiliates have been generally distorted and false. "Protestant leaders in Colombia," he declares, "have tried to convert this falsification into a weapon which appears to defend a religious cause, but in reality has a political objective." In this picture, communism and banditry appear as undercover allies of confusion.

This book presents a needed, documentary study and refutation of the so-called religious persecution of Protestants in Colombia. Unfortunately,

it is uneven in tone and presentation, and is full of mis-spellings, incorrect line hyphenations, and foreignisms. A thorough job of editing and some recasting are indicated if the book is to be offered for general distribution.

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GENERAL HISTORY

Die Geburtsstunde des souveränen Staates. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Volkerrechts, der allgemeinen Staatstehre und des politischen Denkens. By Friedrich August von der Heydte. (Regensburg: Josef Habbel Verlagshandlung. 1952. Pp. 475. DM 36.—.)

This scholarly work is in more than one sense a representative document of our time of transition. Its principal purpose is to describe, on the basis of contemporary sources, how by an interdependence of political practice and political theory, and through a slow process of changes and adjustments in the early mediaeval institutions and laws of the feudal, hierarchically organized, Christendom, which was simultaneously Empire and Church, there was produced the sovereign state and the international law destined to rule the new community of sovereign and equal states. This was often done by a reinterpretation of the legal principles of the empire itself e.g., in the formula of the prince who was emperor in his territory. The author puts the *Geburtsstunde* of the sovereign state—aware, as he tells us in the foreword, of the inadequacy of the metaphor—in the first decades of the fourteenth century after a period of "gestation" that lasted at least a century. This period, and the development of the sovereign state, so he thinks, are not only of purely historical interest but they are also of direct interest for our own age. For in the middle of the twentieth century the traditional political *Weltbild* is changing. The 700-year era of the sovereign state is ending and the blocks of states, e.g., the West and the East, are slowly changing the whole character of the sovereign nation-state with its independent *telos* of determining its own external political life by making treaties or, on its own sovereign authority, of going to war. Today blocks of states with collective interests, protecting themselves by collective treaties and, we might add, by collective military acts, are interposed between the individual states and the law of nations as the law of the community of legally equal sovereign states. Thus the meaning of the traditional concepts and institutions of politics, public law, individual states, and of the community of nations is changing. This is producing an eschatological crisis in the public order and an unceasing, although

often frustrated, longing for peace, the tranquillity of a just order. So our era is similar to that of the rise of the sovereign state. Thus it is legitimate for the historian who wants more than to tell "how it really was," who wants to interpret and serve the present, to look back to a time when the problems were similar to our own. The reader, after going through Professor von der Heydte's 475 pages with their wealth of valuable footnotes and quotations from relevant sources, is inclined to agree with the author.

The period here discussed has become the subject matter, not only of many monographs, but also of several comprehensive treatises. To mention only a few: Alois Dempf's *Sacrum Imperium* (1929), F. Heer's excellent and thought-provoking, but in some points controversial volumes, Heinrich Mitteis, *Der Staat des hohen Mittelalters* (2nd ed., 1948). George de Legarde's *La naissance de l'Esprit laïque au declin du Moyen Age,* an authoritative work of 1700 pages in six volumes (1942-1949), covers the same period and much of the same material, although, as the title suggests, from a rather different angle. Strangely von der Heydte does not mention de Lagarde.

The principal value of von der Heydte's volume consists in the attempt, largely successful, to show what philosophers thought about the political community, its end, function, competency, and power. He likewise aims to describe how the attempts of the jurists to pour the fluctuating thought, the vague longings of the people, and the powerful, yet passing, interest of the ruling groups into definite legal forms, and how the political actions and practices of kings and popes, and the pamphlets of their propagandists, form a tapestry in which first theory precedes practice and then practice leads to justification or rationalization of theory. It is only too true that histories of mediaeval philosophy scarcely discuss the impact which the introduction of Aristotle's *Politics* must have had and, according to von der Heydte's presentation, which it actually did have, upon mediaeval political thinking and politics. Not all historians, furthermore, have appreciated properly—von Eicken for one overdid it—that the "de-sacralization" of the empire by Gregory VII and the latter's fostering of the *libertas* of the Italian communes had indirectly promoted the idea of the coming sovereign *civitas.* In the same way Gregory's introduction of the *Machtprinzip,* and the safeguarding of the *libertas ecclesiae* by expansion of the political rule of the pope, led to the two-fold attack upon this rule by the popular religious movements and by the Kings of France, England, and Spain, the first sovereign rulers, culminating in the tragedy of Anagni. [Cf. Joseph Lortz, *Geschichte d. Reformation in Deutschland* (1939) I, 13, 74.]

A group of St. Thomas' students, especially John of Paris, elaborated the political Aristotelianism introduced by Albertus Magnus and Aquinas

which could serve, and von der Heydte shows that it really did serve, as the theoretical foundation and legitimization of the sovereign state vs. the sacral empire and the imperial Church. The question suggests itself: did St. Thomas mean the empire, or the political community of Christendom when he spoke of the *civitas* as a perfect society, i.e., self-sufficient in the temporal order, as Ignaz Seipel and van der Pol, among others, have held? Or did he mean the individual sovereign city-state in Italy, the beginning nation-state in France, etc.? The question must be answered in favor of the rising sovereign state. Naturally there is no "necessary" development of the political Aristotelianism to the laicist state of Marsilius of Padua, as de Lagarde so convincingly shows.

Professor von der Heydte demonstrates with ample citations from contemporary documents, treaties, and diplomatic acts that, although the idea of the hierarchically organized single empire still continued to influence the thinking of the thirteenth century, this thinking was more a traditional superstructure, while underneath there grew the sovereign state, appropriating step by step the functions, the privileges, and finally the *summa et plena potestas* of the empire. The political ideology of the empire was taken over by the sovereign state and transformed into a state ideology. The division of the empire, the exemptions from imperial authority, the *translatio imperii,* even the theory of legal prescription served the purpose of making the empire, once co-extensive with Christendom, simply a state with, perhaps, a precedence of dignity among other equal states. It was thus that the partisans of Spain, France, and England, the first sovereign states, argued for independence.

Slowly the empire faded away, the political order of an organic whole consisting of a well graduated hierarchy of groups and communities—the family, feudal manor, free city, feudal overlords, kings with their *regna*—which culminated in the bicephalous supreme power of pope and emperor in thesis and in law (from *domus, vicus, civitas, gens, regnum* to *imperium,* as Engelbert von Volkersdorf in his *De ortu et fine Romani Imperii* maintained). Of these communities the *regna* and *civitates* appropriated for themselves from above i.e., from the emperor, the *summa potestas* and the *libertas* of independent political action. The king claimed to be emperor in his territory; he did not recognize a superior and thought of himself as equal with the emperor. Von der Heydte follows the development of these constitutive principles of the sovereign state from its first inception in France and then in Spain, Sicily, and England, through the writings of St. Thomas, Ulrich of Strasbourg, and William of Rennes up to Frederic II, and then on to the conflict of Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair and to its conceptual formulation in John of Paris' political theory. But the kings also

incorporated and bent under their rule, which knew no appeal, the lower communities, and depriving them of their autonomous *jurisdictio* and substituting for their old customary law, there was now the king's law taking away their rights to appeal to emperor or pope. This again is a note of sovereignty, viz., the right to make decisions, judicial and political, against which there was no appeal. Thus there was established by the middle of the fourteenth century the sovereign state, called since then *status, stato, estate,* and given by political theory the character of a perfect society, i.e., each such entity having its own supreme and self-determined *telos.* Consequently, as these states claimed internally the *jus vitae ac necis,* so they claimed externally to be judges in their own affairs, i.e., they claim the *jus belli ac pacis* which, if it was a *jus* presupposed, as Verdross rightly remarked, a legal order of the community of states by which this *jus* was defined, for a war had to be just.

Professor von der Heydte's work belongs to the important series of books on mediaeval political thought, theory, and practice which angers the romantic enthusiast of the "greatest of all centuries," and confounds those who think only of the Dark Ages. Like nature, it would seem that history likewise does not make a *saltus.* Under a given socio-political structure new ideas and ideals, confusedly conceived, began to work; the insufficiencies of the structures began to be felt vaguely; the discussion of conservation vs. reform or revolution started—nor did the Marxian superstructure follow the objectively determined changes in the "sub-structure." But both the objective sub-structure of the material conditions and the solidified legal order of communal life, and—if such a distinction is at all justified—the superstructure of ideas and ideals, of the longings of the masses in mutual interdependence, influenced each other in the change. But underneath both was man's spiritual longing for the immutable values of justice, *aequitas,* peace, and *philia.* For this reason alone history can teach us much.

This review, which is already too long, cannot give all the intricate arguments and the often brilliant interpretations of the sources. About some of these interpretations one might be doubtful, e.g., Leopold von Bebenberg's theory of *jus gentium* (pp. 113 ff.), as well as a satisfactory grasp of the *jus gentium* as the public *jus inter gentes.* But such minor doubts do not influence the over-all value of von der Heydte's book. It is a pity that so many misprints slipped through, e.g., on page 240 a whole line seems to have been dropped. The reviewer was also puzzled by the citation of Boniface VIII's bull *Unam sanctam* under the title *Una sancta.*

HEINRICH A. ROMMEN

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The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandrinorum. Edited with a commentary by Herbert A. Musurillo, S.J. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 299. $5.60.)

Ever since (between 1895 and 1901) Wilcken, Mommsen, T. Reinach, and Wilamowitz brought to light these curious and interesting papyri, the problems of their authorship and purpose have been debated. The present work brings together for the first time into one volume all the fragments—including two newly edited and two newly identified—provides Greek text, commentary, and translation, and re-studies their meaning and relationship in the light of all past research. In arriving at his conclusions, the editor also contributes significantly of his own scholarship and judgment.

The majority of the *Acta* fragments he considers to be reworked protocols based ultimately upon official or semi-official documents, and thus, following Wilcken, fundamentally historical. Their principal motif is anti-Roman. In this they represent the attitude of the official Greek aristocracy of Alexandria, organized in the clubs and the gymnasium. Their pride of birth and priority of culture, as well as their recollection of political liberty, for Egypt was the last of the great Hellenistic monarchies to lose its independence, gave them an inner contempt for their "barbarian" conquerors, and at times the courage to express their convictions openly and to pay the penalty of their παρρησία. The fact that Alexandria was not permitted a βουλή, until the grant of Septimius Severus in 199, added insult to injury, and it is significant that the dramatic date of these fragments does not extend beyond the reign of Commodus. Composed, as they were, to foster the morale of a small, stubborn group, they were edited "for limited circulation only," and were tendentious in substance.

Elements other than the anti-Roman, of course, were present, but they were subordinate. An anti-Semitic bias was encouraged by Roman protection of, and sometimes fraternization with, the Jewish community of Alexandria. The Hellenistic mime, especially the "king-mime," suggested dramatic material with which to caricature bad Roman emperors, and the extreme Cynics provided the street-corner lampoons with which to insult the Roman prefects and their staff. Of all extant literature, these *Acta* represent the most violent of anti-Roman propaganda, and point out the important fact often overlooked—but not by Virgil, "et debellare superbos"—that, in East or West, among Gaul or Greek, the greatest enemies of Roman rule were the older aristocracies, who had once tasted power and remembered its savor.

In his translation of one of the two unedited fragments (*P. Oxy. ined. Acta Diogenis*) Father Musurillo's rendering of 11. 15.16 is, if not

incorrect, ambiguous. Διοδένης is in the nominative, both participles are in the accusative case. The translation, on the other hand, renders the participles as in agreement with the noun. The correct translation makes Diogenes and the man who was "neither criticizing then nor criticizing now" two different persons, a distinction which is important in the interpretation of the passage. Again, a better rendering of 11. 37-40 might be: "If only it *had been* possible to hire his executioner! But this man himself . . . remains for you. . . ." This makes ἐκεῖνος αὐτός the subject of μένει, and abandons the reading τότε, in which only the omicron is sure, anyway.

This book is now, and, unless sensational new evidence is discovered, is likely to remain, the definitive work on the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. It maintains the high traditions of classical scholarship, and is a tribute to the author's critical judgment, thorough research, and attention to detail.

WILLIAM F. MCDONALD

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History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages. By Etienne Gilson. (New York: Random House. 1955. Pp. xvii, 829. $7.50.)

Philosophers and historians who hailed the author's *La philosophie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1944) will give greater welcome to this encyclopedic volume. With almost 550 pages of texts and 300 of notes, bio-bibliographical detail, copious quotations, discussions, etc., it represents the mature harvest of a lifetime of research and writing on the part of its esteemed author. Though it parallels the French survey in general outline and in certain points of interpretation, it is a completely new work, the like of which it would be hard to discover. Individual interpretations will undoubtedly be sometimes questioned, and the bibliography occasionally found wanting, though rarely (it is dated as of April 1, 1953; one becomes suddenly conscious of how much has been published in the last two years). Yet the over-all importance and value of the work must be acknowledged by all.

To read the volume is itself another philosophical experience. The fourteen centuries of thought which it summarizes were united and dominated, as the author points out, by two distinct influences, Greek philosophy and Christian belief (p. 540), and the alliance of these two distinct orders of thought gave philosophy a new life and brought about positive philosophical results. To demonstrate this all-pervading theme, Professor Gilson begins with the Greek Fathers and ends with John Gerson and Nicholas of Cues. The space between is devoted to masterful

summaries of doctrine and filiations of thought. If the early apologists are largely interested in showing the superiority of Christian wisdom over that of the philosophers, they also manifest a primitive awareness of the speculative implications of their faith. This comes to greater consciousness in the later fathers, particularly Origen, the Cappadocians, Augustine, and the Dionysian Corpus. If these writers often seem Platonic in thought and approach, they must be seen primarily and essentially as Christian believers who found in Platonism a challenge to seek a philosophical formulation of the truth of Christianity. The same would hold true of the western fruit of their thought, Scotus Erigena, the enigma of his age. Through Boethius again the early scholastics came in contact with the problems of the Greeks and the dialectic of Aristotle, and are led to the controversy on the universals. Later, the Arabians, especially Avicenna and Averroes—both considered here in some detail—open the way to new questions which fill the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

It is, perhaps, for its wide and all-embracing study of the golden age of scholasticism that this volume will prove of most value. There is not, I daresay, a known scholastic of that period who does not rate at least a mention in the notes, while all the greater and some of the lesser figures receive extensive study in the body of the book. Rightly, too, the condemnations of 1270 and 1277, especially the latter, are seen as turning-points in the development of thought, both in theology and in philosophy; and the controversies over plurality of forms and existence and essence are captured in brief summation. The fourteenth century with Duns Scotus, Aureoli, Durandus, Ockham, late Averroism, and the breakdown of the intellectual movement of the schools occupy the final portion of the book. Nor are controversial interpretations that differ from those of the author passed over in silence, though sometimes minimized or softened by a slightly subtle humor.

Somewhat disappointingly this survey omits almost completely what *La philosophie au moyen âge* presented in some detail, the political thought of several mediaeval writers, the growth of Latin patristic classical culture and the stream of humanism that continues through the Middle Ages, and the reaction thereof to scholasticism that forms the beginning of the Renaissance. As this has proved such an interesting facet of the history of philosophy in the Middle Ages, a facet the author has masterfully presented in the past, may we hope that he will present us with a complete study of this in the near future!

In such a large volume some typographical errors are almost unavoidable, and we need not add a check-list here. But in two places at least (pp. 676-77; 758) the chapter division for the notes is in error; and there are two notes numbered 57, with nothing corresponding to the first of these (pp. 454-455). One may note a few errors of fact, e.g., the *De*

fide orthodoxa of John Damascene hardly provided the model for Peter Lombard, since the latter had composed most of his *Sentences* before knowing a complete copy of Burgundio's translation; indeed, on the contrary, the *Sentences* furnished the division introduced into the *De fide*, presumably by Philip the Chancellor. Again, Walter Burleigh is not considered a Franciscan (p. 769); Eliphat and Halifax are seemingly identical (pp. 763, 770). These minutiae in no way detract from the volume, and we must again thank the author for the service he has hereby rendered to Catholic scholarship in America.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences which met in Rome during the week of September 4-11, 1955, drew approximately 1,700 historians from all parts of the world. The largest delegations were those of France (c. 450), Italy (c. 350), and Germany (208). There were 100 names of Americans on the mimeographed lists of delegates issued from the congress headquarters. Of these eight were members of the American Catholic Historical Association, viz., Oscar Halecki of Fordham University, President of the Association for 1956; Frances S. Childs of Brooklyn College; Francis Dvornik of Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University; Friedrich Engel-Janosi of the Catholic University of America; Astrik L. Gabriel, O.Praem., of the University of Notre Dame; Stephan G. Kuttner of the Catholic University of America; Howard R. Marraro of Columbia University; and Mary Lucille Shay of the University of Illinois. The Belgian delegation of sixty included such well-known names as Roger Aubert, Léon van der Essen, and Charles Terlinden of the Catholic University of Louvain. Monsignor Hubert Jedin and Max Braubach of the University of Bonn were among the German delegates, and from France came Guillaume Bertier de Sauvigny, C.J.M., and Canon Jean Leflon of the Catholic Institute of Paris and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle of the Universities of Paris and Saarbrücken; Dom Hugo Hantsich, O.S.B., was among the Austrian delegates. Numbered among the delegates of the Holy See and of Italy were Friedrich Kempf, S.J., Joseph Grisar, S.J., and Paul Droulers, S.J., all of the Gregorian University, the late Monsignor Angelo Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Archives, and Monsignor Pio Paschini, Rector of the Ateneo Lateranense. Ireland sent a delegation of eighteen which included Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., R. Dudley Edwards, and Thomas D. Williams of University College, Dublin; James Hogan of University College, Cork; and Mary Donovan O'Sullivan of University, Galway. The large delegation from Great Britain had among its members Monsignor Gordon Albion and E. E. Y. Hales, author of the recent study on Pius IX.

The papers of the congress ranged over a wide field of subjects with a considerable number having a special interest for historians of the Church. Among the latter were those of Professor Halecki on "The Idea of the Church in Eastern Europe after the Council of Trent," and that of Professor Engel-Janosi on "The Minority at the Vatican Council." Others in this category included a discussion on "Religious Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century" during which reports were made by Father Aubert

of Louvain and Professor Duroselle of Saarbrücken. Monsignor Jedin read a paper on "The Idea of the Church in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"; Signor Giulio Battelli of the Vatican Archives spoke on "Historical Research in the Vatican Archives"; and Ferdinando Antonelli, O.F.M., Rector of the Ateneo Antoniano, had as his subject, "The Archives of the Sacred Congregation of Rites." Other subjects included the paper of Father Giovanni B. Borino of the Vatican Library on "The Register of Gregory VII," while another member of the staff of the Vatican Library, Vatiliano Laurent, A.A., spoke on "The Eastern Policy of Gregory X." In fact, the Gregories seemed to have attracted more than an ordinary amount of attention, for Guillaume Mollat, professor at Lille, France, also had a paper on "Gregory XI and Italy." Professor Leo Just of the University of Mainz likewise read a paper on "Problems of Research in the Nunciatures."

One of the principal highlights of the congress was the general audience accorded the delegates by Pope Pius XII at the Vatican on Wednesday, September 7, when he delivered a major address in French, the text of which was carried in an English translation under the title of "The Catholic Church and History," by the *Tablet* of London in its issue of September 24, 1955. The *Osservatore Romano* of September 9 had printed the Holy Father's address in French, as well as a news story covering the Holy See's official participation in the congress and a description of the special exhibition of documents which had been arranged for display in the Vatican Archives for the visiting historians. The papal audience on September 7 attracted several hundred more persons than were listed as delegates to the congress, among them being seven cardinals and representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See. The twenty-four delegates from the U.S.S.R. were not in attendance at the Vatican.

The proceedings of the congress, carrying the texts of the papers read, are now available in book form. The next international congress of the historians will assemble in Stockholm in 1960 while that of 1965 is scheduled for Moscow.

The nineteenth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists held in Nashville, October 9-11, elected as its new president, Ernst Posner, who was also recently named Dean of the Graduate School at the American University. Professor Posner's influence in the archives field has been felt throughout the United States and this, too, in Catholic circles through the many priests and sisters who have studied archives administration under him. The REVIEW, and the American Catholic Historical Association of which he has been a member since 1949, are happy to

extend to him congratulations on these well-deserved honors. At the same convention the Reverend Henry J. Browne, archivist of the Catholic University of America and associate professor of history, was elected secretary of the society. The Reverend Edmund L. Binsfeld, C.PP.S., archivist and librarian at St. Charles Seminary, Carthagena, Ohio, is currently serving as chairman of the society's committee on church records which is preparing an extensive bibliography in that field. The society's committee on college and university records has completed the drafting of a blueprint for the archives of an institution of higher learning. This work attempts to take into consideration not only the historical developments in that area—which differ from institution to institution—but also the fruit of discussions by dozens of workers in that type of establishment concerning the most desirable features for such an archival agency.

An Institute of Research and Study in Medieval Canon Law was founded in Washington, D. C., in May, 1955. It is an autonomous corporation, privately endowed, to serve as a center for promoting and co-ordinating the scientific investigation of mediaeval canon law and, in particular, the preparation of critical editions of the works of mediaeval decretists and decretalists, together with a new edition of the *Decretum Gratiani*.

The institute was made possible by the generous aid of American benefactors. It is governed by a board of directors, consisting of John J. Burns (New York), John Tracy Ellis (Washington), Stephan Kuttner (Washington), Gaines Post (Madison), J. Joseph Ryan (Brighton, Massachusetts), Theodore H. Thiesing (New York), and Eugene P. Willging (Washington). Professor Kuttner, elected as president for a term of five years, is in charge of directing the policies and research of the institute. The board has appointed Dr. Brian Tierney as assistant secretary. The institute has its headquarters at 620 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington 17, D. C., in offices placed at its disposal by the Catholic University of America.

Pledged to close collaboration with scholars and research centers on both sides of the Atlantic, the institute will enjoy the counsel of an international Board of Advisers, among whom are the following: Anselmo M. Albareda, O.S.B. (Vatican Library), Ramon Bidagor, S.J. (Gregorian University, Rome), Lowrie J. Daly, S.J. (Saint Louis University), Giuseppe Forchelli (University of Bologna), Gérard Fransen (University of Louvain), Walter Holtzmann (German Historical Institute, Rome), Richard W. Hunt (Bodelian Library, Oxford), Ernst H. Kantorowicz (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton), Gabriel Le Bras (University of Paris), Terence P. McLaughlin, C.S.B. (Pontifical Institute of Medi-

aeval Studies, Toronto), Charles R. D. Miller (Mediaeval Academy of America), Klaus Mörsdorf (Institute of Canon Law, University of Munich), Willibald M. Plöchl (University of Vienna), Roscoe Pound (Harvard University), Jacqueline Rambaud-Buhort (Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris), Edward G. Roelker (Catholic University of America), Alfons M. Stickler, S.D.B. (Pontifical Ateneo Salesiano, Turin), Samuel E. Thorne (Yale University), and Walter Ullmann (University of Cambridge).

During the Tenth International Congress of Historians, held at Rome in September, 1955, a first meeting of the president of the institute with a representative group of collaborating scholars from nine countries took place on September 6 in the Vatican Library, where His Eminence Giovanni Cardinal Mercati extended a gracious welcome. The meeting settled many methodological and organizational problems and agreed on an outline of concrete projects for the immediate future.

The major publications sponsored by the institute will take the form of a series with the title *Monumenta iuris canonici*. The collection will be divided into three sections, *Corpus collectionum, Corpus glossatorum,* and *Subsidia*. Individual volumes of the series, when published with the assistance of a collaborating institution, will be furnished with a double title page indicating the joint sponsorship of this particular institution and the institute. The section *Subsidia* will also include a revised edition of Stephan Kuttner's *Repertorium der Kanonistik*, to be issued jointly by the institute and the Vatican Library. By arrangement with Fordham University Press, New York, the annual volumes of *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* will include in the future, beginning with Volume XI (1955), a new section, "Bulletin of the Institute of Research and Study in Medieval Canon Law," for the regular publication of articles and information relating to the work of the institute. Offprints of this bulletin will be made separately available to collaborators and others interested in the activities of the institute.

A new bi-monthly review devoted to sociology, social psychology, and statistics and entitled *Social Compass* is now in its second volume and is edited by Professor G. H. I. Zeegers of Geneva. The original initiative for *Social Compass* came from The Netherlands. The journal is published under the auspices of the International Catholic Institute for Social Research with headquarters in Geneva. Volume II, Number 5/6 carries a lengthy article entitled "A Sociological Study of the Evolution of the American Catholics" by François Houtart, a priest of the Archdiocese of Malines, whose monograph on social trends among the Catholics of the Archdiocese of Chicago, illustrating religious problems of the immigrant in

an urban environment, is to be published soon. Although historians of the American Church will not always be content with the methods used by Father Houtart, nor with the rather thin and superficial evidence advanced on a number of points, in both material and method the article has much that is of worth to the historian as well as to the sociologist. The subscription is $6.00 per year and the editorial office is located at 28-30 Paul Gabriëlstraat, The Hague, The Netherlands.

Students of mediaeval history will find the discussion of such topics as the Inquisition, the Crusades, Christian culture, and the Papal States in Charles Journet's *The Church of the Word Incarnate* (Sheed and Ward, 1955) of great interest, particularly since these essays of Monsignor Journet are written from the theological viewpoint.

Volume II of *Studies in the Renaissance* contains among its nine articles one on Latin Renaissance poetry by Leo Spitzer and another by Herbert Weisinger which deals with the attack on the Renaissance being made of late in certain theological circles.

Volume XLIII of *Historical Records and Studies*, the annual publication of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York, edited by James A. Reynolds, professor of church history in St. Joseph's Seminary, New York, contains substantial fare for the historian of the American Church. The paper read at the annual meeting of the society on November 3, 1954, by James E. Roohan of Yale University and entitled "American Catholics and the Social Question, 1865-1900," covers an aspect of Mr. Roohan's doctoral dissertation at Yale some years ago. Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., of St. John's University, Collegeville, edits the lengthy account of the visit to the South and West made by Francesco Satolli in February-March, 1896, some months before the first Apostolic Delegate to the United States left this country to receive his red hat at the hands of Leo XIII. Finally, among the major contributions to the volume is the article by Francis X. Curran, S.J., professor of history in Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York, on "The Buffalo Mission of the German Jesuits, 1869-1907," a study based largely on hitherto unpublished correspondence in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus.

Recent acquisitions by the Dinand Library of the College of the Holy Cross include materials to supplement the library's collections of papers of the late Senator David I. Walsh on state and local levels; the files of the late James E. Handrahan, a prominent Brockton lawyer active in

politics around the turn of the last century; a collection of the papers of John F. Fitzgerald, former Mayor of Boston and representative in Congress, given by his son. The Fitzgerald gift included as well a run of the *Republic* (1882-1925), a Catholic weekly published in Boston, of which Holy Cross now has twenty-four of the forty-four volumes. Mr. Herbert Kelley, a former president of Silas Peirce and Company, one of Boston's old wholesale grocery firms now defunct, likewise gave to the Dinand Library a collection of material dating from the years 1827-1870 which will be helpful to students interested in the economic history of Massachusetts in these years.

The library of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, has come into the possession of an almost complete file of the *Catholic Times,* published at Waterloo, New York, from 1877 to 1880, and at Rochester from 1880 to 1881. Its editor and founder was the Reverend Louis A. Lambert (1835-1910), the prominent—and sometimes controversial—editor and polemicist. *The Times* was later absorbed by the Buffalo *Catholic Union,* to form the *Catholic Union and Times.* So far as is known, St. Bernard's possesses the only relatively complete file of the earlier paper, which has now been microfilmed.

The general index to Volumes I-VII inclusive of *Acta et Dicta,* compiled by James E. Quill and edited by Patrick H. Ahern, is now available at the St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

During the week of November 13-20, 1955, the Centre catholique des intellectuels français sponsored a series of lectures and discussions on the general title of "L'église et les civilisations," in the Salle de la mutualité in Paris. The week opened with a session on "Vérités et équivoques de la civilisation chrétienne" which featured M. François Mauriac and Jean Daniélou, S.J., and it closed on the following Sunday with a general session on "L'église croit a l'avenir du monde," which was presided over by Maurice Cardinal Feltin, Archbishop of Paris.

The annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York was held on November 22 when Francis X. Curran, S.J., professor of history in Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, read a paper on "Some Problems of an Historian of the American Church." Father Curran is historian of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus.

The third annual conference on the natural law, sponsored by the Guild of Catholic Lawyers of New York on December 3, 1955, had as one of

the authors of the four papers Miriam Theresa Rooney who spoke on "The Natural Law and Legal Justice." Dr. Rooney is dean of the School of Law of Seton Hall University.

Paul Horgan, author of the two-volume work, *The Great River*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1955, is now at work on a biography of John B. Lamy, first Archbishop of Santa Fe. Anyone who knows of pertinent materials will oblige Mr. Horgan by informing him of such at ½ Park Road, Roswell, New Mexico.

Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter has delegated Father Peter J. Rahill to revise Rothensteiner's *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928). The archbishop has also appointed a steering committee for this work which is headed by Auxiliary Bishop Charles H. Helmsing, and which includes Thomas V. Cahill, C.M., Rector of Kenrick Seminary, and John Francis Bannon, S.J., director of the Department of History of Saint Louis University. Readers of the REVIEW who know of data pertinent to the subject are invited to write to Father Rahill at 5200 Glennon Drive, St. Louis 19, Missouri.

Sister Marie de Lourdes of the Sisters of Charity of Mount Saint Vincent of New York is gathering material for a history of her community which formerly had missions in Connecticut and Pennsylvania but is now confined to the Archdiocese of New York and the Diocese of Brooklyn.

Russell E. Planck and George L. A. Reilly of the Department of Social Studies at Seton Hall University have been appointed to the staff of *Historical Abstracts, 1775-1945. A Quarterly Covering the World's Periodical Literature*. The editor is Eric H. Boehm, c/o Historisches Seminar, Universitat Wien, Vienna 1, Austria, and the publication office is at 640 West 153rd Street, New York 31, New York.

On July 21, 1955, the coffin of Father Basil Antoine Moreau, founder of the Congregation of Holy Cross in LeMans, France, was opened and the remains examined by members of the apostolic tribunal for the beatification. During his lifetime Father Moreau visited Notre Dame, Indiana, and other houses of the community in the United States.

The Keane History Society of St. Peter's College, Jersey City, has a program of fifteen meetings scheduled for the current academic year to run from October 12, 1955, to May 12, 1956, when the year's activities will conclude with a dinner meeting. The principal emphasis this year is

on some of the great Catholic historians, with an evening each devoted to Baronius, Bollandus, Lingard, Acton, von Pastor, and Christopher Dawson. The society was named for Kerr Keane, S.J., a former professor of history at St. Peter's, and the moderator is Edward J. Dunne, S.J., chairman of the Department of History.

The annual history discussion series conducted by the Department of History of the University of Notre Dame has for its theme this year "Notions of Loyalty and Treason in Various Periods of History." The first discussion on November 22 was led by Anton-Hermann Chroust and Otto Bird on "Loyalty and Treason in Ancient Greece."

On August 31, 1856, James Roosevelt Bayley, first Bishop of Newark, noted in the diocesan register: "Father McQuaid and the rest have been busy getting ready to open the College tomorrow—Will probably have twenty to thirty boys to start with." [Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1925), I, 320.] It was in a house near Madison, New Jersey, purchased the year before for $8,000, that the present large and flourishing Seton Hall University had its humble beginnings with Bernard J. McQuaid, twelve years later to be named first Bishop of Rochester, as president heading a faculty of four priests and five laymen. During its centennial year four members of Seton Hall's Department of Social Studies will be contributors to a brochure which will commemorate its founding.

On October 15 Duns Scotus College, the Franciscan house of studies in Detroit, celebrated its silver jubilee. To commemorate the occasion Edgar B. Casey, O.F.M., and George Hellman, O.F.M., published an attractively illustrated booklet.

In 1905 the University of Notre Dame was reorganized into "colleges" of arts and letters, science, engineering, and law. At that time the entire college enrollment was 210 students. After fifty years the undergraduate enrollment is over 5,100. In estimating the accomplishments of Catholic educational institutions the recent growth is a very important factor. The same factor has importance in evaluating the Catholic high school which has come into being during the same fifty years. Both developments have involved the shift from the old classical course to the modified elective system.

Astrik L. Gabriel, O.Praem, director of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame, lectured before the Académie des inscriptions

et belles lettres on June 17 on "Accounts of the University of Paris," and spoke before the Historical Society of Paris on "The Intellectual Life in Ave Maria College, 1339-1545." Canon Gabriel and Professor Gray C. Boyce of Northwestern University are at present editing the *Chartularium*, a collection of records on the University of Paris.

Carlton J. H. Hayes, Seth Low professor of history emeritus in Columbia University, delivered a series of lectures during October on the "Uses and Abuses of History" to the graduate students and college seniors at the University of Notre Dame.

Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., professor of history in Georgetown University, has been named as a member of the twenty-one man Board of Directors of the Civil War Centennial Association to plan the 1961 observance.

Daniel S. Buczek, formerly assistant professor at Seton Hall University, has been appointed to the same position in the Department of History of Fairfield University, Fairfield, Connecticut.

G. Marshall Dill, Jr., formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, has joined the faculty of Bard College.

Angelo Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Archives since 1925, died on October 4 at the age of eighty-five. Monsignor Mercati served as professor of church history in the seminaries of Marola and Reggio Emilia between 1893 and 1911 when he joined the staff of the Vatican Archives. Among his many publications were the *Raccolta di concordati* (Roma, 1919), over 160 articles in various reviews, and notable assistance to important works in the history of the Church such as those of von Pastor, Grisar, Wilpert, and Bardenhewer. One of the last official acts of Monsignor Mercati was to arrange for an exhibition of documents from the Vatican Archives for the visitors to the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences which met in Rome, September 4-11.

BRIEF NOTICES

BARDY, G. *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique.* [Livres I-IV. *Texte grec, traduction et annotation.* Sources Chrétiennes. Vol. XXXI.] (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf. 1952. Pp. vii, 215 [double].)

This first volume of Eusebius' *Church History* is a welcome addition to the Sources Chrétiennes. It reproduces the Greek text of Schwartz in the *Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller* (Berlin, 1903)—apart from minor changes—and the French translation faces the original as in the Loeb Classical Library and in the Budé series. Given the competence of Chanoine Bardy, it is hardly necessary to observe that the translation is accurate. English readers, however, now have available several good translations of Eusebius' *Church History* in their own language, the latest being that of Roy J. Deferrari in the *Fathers of the Church*. They will, therefore, give particular attention to the excellent notes in the present work. The Greek text and the French translation of the *Church History* will occupy three volumes. A fourth volume is to contain an "Introduction générale" and "Tables détaillées." (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

BAYNES, NORMAN H. *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays.* (London: University of London, Athlone Press; New York: John de Graff. 1955. Pp. xi, 392. $7.00.)

This book of lectures, articles, and book reviews by the distinguished English scholar, Norman Baynes, will be both an inspiration and a stimulating guide to further research for many a lover of things Byzantine. Dr. Baynes is a good example of the scholar who knows how to ask the right questions. This reviewer found that true, especially in regard to his discussion of such points as Byzantine *philanthropia* and the Greek solution of the iconoclastic controversy. Although the lectures are not arranged in chronological sequence, the author's growth in depth of comprehension is evident if one compares his most recent, "The Thought World of East Rome" (1947), with his earliest lecture, "A Study in Ecclesiastical Diplomacy" (1926). While the latter gives proof of the profound sympathy and sincere scholarship of Dr. Baynes, the earlier lecture shows that at first he had leaned somewhat too heavily upon Byzantine sources. From the viewpoint of Arius, Athanasius may have appeared as an "uncharitable bigot" (p. 104). The verdict of the Christian historian, however, should be that Athanasius' stand was justified since the Eusebian formula for the reconcilation of heretics was an equivocal compromise which, in omitting the critical *homoousian* clause, nullified the definition of the Nicean council which chose the formula precisely to distinguish the true believer from the heretic. From the viewpoint of Nestorius, similarly, Cyril's zeal for the

Theotokos may have appeared unwarranted, but the verdict of the Christian historian must be that the condemnation of Nestorius as a heretic was warranted. To call Cyril's dossier of the controversy between himself and Nestorius a "lying summary" (p. 108) would seem to be one instance where the author relied too heavily on the Byzantine source. Although Dr. Baynes, owing to his own appreciation of Athanasius' skill in controversy, capably defends Athanasius against Otto Seeck's charge of forgery, he gravely underestimates the mental stature of Cyril. Moreover, although Celestine cautioned Cyril to beware lest he be numbered among those "swift to shed blood," Cyril was still fully authorized to preside in the judgment of Nestorius. Although Dr. Baynes laments the "sorry figure" of Theodosius at the council, was not the responsibility for the confusion due far more to the general willingness of the easterners to make caesar the arbiter in the things that are God's, than it was to the emperor's mistakes?

The fourteen articles and ten highly technical reviews of books dealing with Byzantine subjects added to the foregoing lectures, make this book a valuable addition to any Byzantine library. The quality of the printing and format are also very good. (HERMES KREILKAMP)

BISHOP, JIM. *The Day Lincoln Was Shot.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1955. Pp. xi, 304. $3.75.)

Jim Bishop has taken an oft-told story that would appear to have been worked to its utmost, and has written an exciting and thought-provoking account. In point of time he actually covers the Lincoln conspiracy from the beginning until April 15 when the president died, and in a postscript he records the fate of the various persons who were in or were immediately affected by it. This is a work devoid of violent biases. Without condoning evil or poor judgment, Mr. Bishop analyzes the forces motivating his characters, and, given the set of circumstances under which they played their parts, the intricate melodrama of April 14 becomes plausible.

Booth is pictured in all his vanity, surrounded by admiring nonentities, bewailing the fall of his beloved southland, and inflaming his eccentric brain more and more with brandy. The conspirators, according to the author, were originally drawn together by the plot to kidnap Lincoln, and only Booth and Payne were willing to carry out the assassination. The weaker characters were drawn into it by their matinee idol. Booth himself would achieve immortality by "pulling down the Colossus of Rhodes." He is reported by the Chicago *Journal* of April 15, 1865, to have quoted the couplet, "The ambitious youth who fired the Ephesian Dome outlives in fame the pious fool who reared it."

The account of Lincoln's last day in the White House and of Booth's final meetings with his followers makes fascinating reading. The work, however, devoid as it is of documentation, is more tantalizing than instructive to the historian. One suspects that much of the color injected by Mr. Bishop's gifted pen may be authentic. We shall probably never know. (J. WALTER COLEMAN)

CATTELL, DAVID T. *Communism and the Spanish Civil War.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 290. Paper $2.75; cloth $3.75.)

The author of this volume is concerned with the problem of Soviet intervention in Spain, an important question in that this was the first instance of armed interference by Soviet Russia. In *Communism and the Spanish Civil War,* the first volume of Mr. Cattell's analysis, the author studies the sequence of events in the Spanish Civil War, tracing the extent to which policy was motivated by the desire to extend the dominion of the Communist Party. It is Mr. Cattell's opinion that while the Spanish Civil War was essentially a struggle of internal forces, the Spanish Communist Party was used by the Soviets to support Russia's foreign policy of defense against fascism.

In co-ordinating and organizing Loyalist defense, communist leadership had the added power of anticipated Soviet help. Mr. Cattell's study shows how Soviet aid, in turn, was accompanied by Soviet advisers, who by virtue of their tacit threat to withdraw aid controlled the military and political planning of the Spanish communists. In December, 1936, the somewhat arbitrary decision made by Negrin, the Minister of Finance, and Largo Caballero, the Prime Minister, to ship a large portion of the Spanish gold reserve to Russia for safe keeping while, as indicated by the author, not entirely unwarranted from the Loyalist viewpoint, might already reflect a degree of Russian control. Despite aid, the cause of the Spanish Communists was secondary to the aims of Russia's foreign policy. How Spain fitted into Russia's foreign policy is to be analyzed by the author in a subsequent volume.

While the recentness of Mr. Cattell's topic may limit the extent of documents at hand, particularly as regards Soviet documents, much good material is already available. In the volume under discussion, the author has utilized such valuable documentary collections as the *Documents on German Foreign Policy,* the microfilmed documents of the Italian Foreign Office, those from the Spanish Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice, the Soviet edition of Documents of the German Ministries of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Anti-Comintern Archives in the Hoover Library. The material employed is carefully evaluated. Possible bias in reports is indicated, and when on significant points the documents are not entirely conclusive, the author is careful to indicate the sources upon which his conclusions are based. It is fortunate, indeed, that the problem of Soviet intervention in the Spanish Civil War has found such a thorough and acute student. (MADELEINE ENGEL-JANOSI)

CURTIUS, ERNST ROBERT. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages.* Translated from the German by Willard R. Trask. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1953. [Bollingen Series XXXVI.] Pp. xv, 662. $5.50.)

The German original of this work, published in 1948, was received with enthusiasm as a truly epoch-making contribution, although it was recognized by the more discerning reviewers (cf., e.g., M. L. W. Laistner in *Speculum,*

XXIV [1949], 259-263) that, while the book was unusually comprehensive in scope and rich in ideas, it could not hope to be exhaustive. It should be regarded primarily as a stimulating and fruitful volume, which by stressing the unity, continuity, and abiding values in our western cultural tradition, and by its suggestive outlines of many topics, should define the scope and method and indicate the direction of further more detailed investigations. The English edition is most welcome, for the translator has performed his task very well. The author—now dead—restated the purpose of his book as follows: "It seeks to serve an understanding of the Western cultural tradition in so far as it is manifested in literature. It attempts to illuminate the writing of that tradition in space and time by the application of new methods. But the demonstration (of that unity) can only be made from a universal standpoint. Such a standpoint is offered by Latinity" (p. viii). The English edition is enhanced by an appendix containing an excellent lecture, "The Mediaeval Bases of Western Thought," delivered by the author at the Goethe Bicentennial Convocation held at Aspen, Colorado, in 1949. The book in printing and format reflects the fine standard set by the Bollingen Series, and the price is wonderfully low for such a work. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

DALZELL, GEORGE W. *Benefit of Clergy in America.* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. xi, 299. $4.50.)

The lapse of ancient practices and a widespread ignorance of legal history have required the publishers of this work by the late Mr. Dalzell (lecturer on admiralty law at Georgetown University) to explain on the jacket that the book "has little to do with clergymen and nothing at all with any advantages that may have been derived from the presence of divines in colonial America." That which in origin was an exemption for "criminous clerks" from the royal courts' jurisdiction, which developed into a *pro forma* test of an ability to read—or even an ability to recite from memory the so-called "neck verse"—came gradually to represent the chief method of mitigating a criminal process that gave little hope to an accused person of any grounds for acquittal. It was one of the benefits of English law transplanted to America, but at a time when the privilege was being narrowed with respect to the number of crimes punishable "with benefit of clergy," when it had been taken away from the actual priests of the Catholic Church, but when it had become available on at least first offense to practically everyone else. The development of colonial enterprise occasioned another alternative to hanging on conviction for felony, viz., transportation out of the realm, so that America received its share of criminals as well as the type of procedure by which many of them could escape the noose. In telling his story Mr. Dalzell came up against the problem of colonial legal history in general. He resolved its difficulties by resorting to anecdote and relying upon his lawyer's astuteness when approaching pitfalls, but the result is at least a happy one "for slippered readers rather than academicians." (JOHN T. FARRELL)

GANSS, GEORGE E., S.J. (Trans. and Ed.). *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University. A Study in the History of Catholic Education, Including Part Four of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, Translated from the Spanish of Saint Ignatius of Loyola with Introduction and Notes.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 368. $5.50.)

As Father Ganss states in the preface, there are good studies available on Jesuit education in general, and especially on the *Ratio studiorum* of 1599, but St. Ignatius' own ideas on educational theory and practice, the ideas which inform the *Ratio* and give full meaning to its contents, have never before been made the theme of a systematic, detailed investigation. Furthermore, while others have dealt with Jesuit education largely from a descriptive point of view, his approach is historical as well as descriptive throughout. The ideas and practices of St. Ignatius are examined and evaluated in terms of the cultural inheritance, contemporary interests, and needs of sixteenth-century Europe. The early Jesuit schools of various types—each is described in detail—had phenomenal success and exercised a corresponding influence precisely because they were better organized, better staffed, and offered a definitely Christian education on the intellectual and moral side; yet, at the same time, a form of education in content and quality that was regarded by contemporaries as superior to that given by others as a practical preparation for careers in Church and State. The author quite properly emphasizes the practical side of Latin studies in the sixteenth century and the corresponding emphasis on Latin in the curriculum of the time. The investigations of St. Ignatius' *Constitutions* on education, and the translation of part four of the *Constitutions* from the original Spanish with accompanying introduction and notes, are an important contribution in themselves. Father Ganss shows clearly that the *Ratio studiorum* of 1599 is really a supplement to part four of the *Constitutions*. Consequently, it can only be fully and accurately interpreted in the light of the *Constitutions*, the spirit and content of which it presupposes.

On the basis of Father Ganss' book, St. Ignatius must be recognized more definitely than ever before as a truly great educator, an exponent of Christian *paedeia* at its best, a man in whom the theoretical and practical were wonderfully combined, a respecter of tradition but also eagerly receptive of new ideas and new methods from any source, provided he found them good or at least worth trying. He left his sons the legacy of a splendid body of principles and precepts flexible enough to be applied or adapted to new places and to new times and conditions.

There are three appendices: I, A Historical Sketch of the Teaching of Latin; II, The Methods of Teaching Philosophy and Theology in Ignatius' Day; III, *Paedeia*, Liberal Education and General Education. The first is especially important, as it not only covers methods of teaching Latin from the Middle Ages to our own times, but deals also with the place of Latin in the curriculum, the causes of its decline, and the function of Latin in the modern Catholic high school and college. The last point is handled with admirable discernment and good judgment. The value of the book is enhanced by twenty-five illustrations or figures. It is well printed, and is furnished with a good bibliography and a good index.

The author might have been more precise on the amount of Greek, Hebrew, etc., actually taught in the Jesuit schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He could have indicated more clearly that research in the strict sense was not regarded as a normal university function much before the early nineteenth century. His account of Latin instruction in the Middle Ages is satisfactory, but would have been better if R. R. Bolgar's *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1954) had appeared in time for him to use it. These are minor criticisms. Father Ganss has written a book which deserves to be warmly recommended as an important contribution in the field of cultural history. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

GOTTESMAN, RITA SUSSWEIN. *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1779-1799.* (New York: New York Historical Society. 1954. Pp. xix, 484. $4.00.)

As a sequel to her *Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776,* Mrs. Gottesman has compiled an admirable amount of information into a thoroughly and delightfully edited journal of New York life. Every facet of life is seen through advertisements and news items of some three dozen New York newspapers. Designed primarily for historians, researchers, librarians, and antiquarians, the book will, nevertheless, have an appeal also for the casual reader of American history. Its arrangement is topical rather than narrative, allowing the reader to weigh the many interesting morsels of New York life during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. The book is conveniently organized into seventeen chapters containing 1,322 separate items covering a multitude of topics. The reader is able to pinpoint information almost as easily as he could in an encyclopedia. Such advertised marvels of the day as an automaton Indian that whispers, a sofa which converts into a bed, and a clothes washing machine which plays music as it does its job, were but a few of the items put before the public. Quite a few of the items pertain to economic and social material.

Well edited and highly informative, this volume warrants the attention of not only the practitioners of history but of those who so fortunately like to dabble in our past. Factual, vital, informative, and humorous material are gathered together in this book to give many interesting glimpses into the everyday life of our forebears. (PETER K. EWALD)

INGLIS, BRIAN. *The Freedom of the Press in Ireland, 1784-1841.* [Studies in Irish History. Vol. VI.] (London: Faber and Faber Ltd. 1954. Pp. 256. 25s.)

The slightness of this volume may belie its importance. Too little is yet known about the critical years in Irish history which it covers, and what is and can be known depends in large part upon newspaper sources. Consequently, Dr. Inglis' survey of the influence of Irish newspapers from the grant of a measure of self-government in 1782 to the Whig administration of 1835-1841, of

the development of the idea of freedom of the press in Ireland, and of "the way in which the restrictions imposed upon the newspapers delayed their growth into a fourth estate," is of major value. Particularly impressive is his analysis of the means employed by Dublin Castle, legislation, prosecutions, and strategic use of subsidies and of the proclamation fund, to cow the opposition press. Students of any phase of the period—from the agitation for reform of the Irish Parliament through the rebellion and the Union, the struggles for Catholic Emancipation and repeal of the Union, the hegemony of O'Connell—and historians who attempt in the future to make its crises understandable must refer constantly to this book. What Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the Press, c. 1780-1850,* merely touched upon with regard to Ireland is here elaborated, and most of what has hitherto been neglected, or only casually indicated in specialized studies, is here for the first time adequately presented—with a grace of style and a critical use and evaluation of manuscript and printed sources that augur well for the quality of modern Irish historiography. (JAMES A. REYNOLDS)

KATZ, SOLOMON. *The Decline of Rome and the Rise of Medieval Europe.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 164. $1.25.)

This slim paper-covered volume must be judged from a twofold aspect: first, in itself as a narrative essay that covers the period of Roman history from the age of the Antonines to the death of Justinian; and second, in its relationship to a series of similar essays which are designed as texts for an introductory college history course that has as its scope western civilization "from its origins in ancient Israel and Greece to the Present." In itself the essay is a laudable accomplishment, easily and clearly expressed, and neatly divided into sections that treat of various phases of Rome's history. It should not be surprising that in a volume in which so much is compressed into so few pages there are general statements that invite questioning. To speak of a change "from a scientific, objective, and rational basis of thought and life to a way of life based on faith and dogma" has overtones of judging religious belief as something irrational (p. 53). The primacy of the Bishop of Rome, enhanced as it has been by the prestige of the Eternal City has, nevertheless, as its essential, and not just "more important," basis the will of Christ (p. 125). The problems of Nestorianism and Monophysitism are presented in terms that are somewhat nebulous (p. 127). Judged as a unit within the framework of a larger effort of historical writing, this essay must share the criticism that such a survey course calls upon itself. This volume is designed "to serve as the basic reading for one week in a semester course." It is difficult to see how in one week a student of average ability can arrive at an intelligent understanding of these four centuries under consideration. Nor is it possible to share in the optimism of the general editor that the simplification "need not involve intellectual dilution or evasion." (WILLIAM V. BANGERT)

KEEN, BENJAMIN (Ed.). *Readings in Latin-American Civilization, 1492 to the Present.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1955. Pp. ix, 477. $3.60.)

This compilation is the first attempt in the field of Latin American history to imitate the numerous collections of sources prepared for class use in the fields of European and United States history. The variety of compilations in the latter fields attests to the wide difference of opinion held by teachers of history as to selection and weight of materials in these collections. What is true in those fields will also be the case here. From the physical view these readings are nicely balanced, 217 and 216 pages, respectively, being devoted to the colonial and republican periods and forty pages to material dealing with the revolutionary era. Introductions to each section give a general background to the era under consideration; comments preceding the selections give specific introductory material on the narrative discussed with pertinent remarks concerning the source of the selection.

With few exceptions the selections are taken from contemporary sources, following the view of the author that they ". . . often convey the flavor and spirit of the period more vividly than official documents." Thus one finds in the colonial period selections from the writings of Bishop Landa, Father Cobo, Father Acosta, Oviedo, Gómara, Garcilaso de la Vega, and others. The revolutionary period is partly represented by Alamán, O'Leary, Mitre, and Zavala. Among the authors selected for the republican period are Sarmiento, Alberdi, Prieto, J. Nabuco, and José Vasconcelos.

Substantively, the collection is well prepared. The translations read easily and should stimulate interest and discussion. As an aid to students, a glossary is appended. It is inevitable that it will not meet with total approval, however, for one reader will regret the absence of this, another the inclusion of that. This reviewer feels, e.g., that in the colonial section something should have been included relative to the founding of missions, aside from the reductions, which are given space. One could also regret that selections concerning colonial education were not given more prominence and could state regret that in their absence the inclusion of the remarks of Thomas Gage in his *The English American* put the ecclesiastical picture out of proportion. However, as aforestated, there is never going to be complete satisfaction with compilations of this type. Certainly, if a teacher finds this type of collection a classroom aid, whatever deficiencies he feels it has can be corrected by assigned readings. Professor Keen is to be congratulated for exploring an unplowed field in this instance. (MARTIN J. LOWERY)

KOCHAN, LIONEL *Acton on History.* (New York: British Book Centre. 1955. Pp. 184. $3.00.)

Lord John Acton, nephew of a cardinal, stepson of British Foreign Secretary Earl Granville, grandson both of a Napoleonic duke and a Bourbon prime minister, and son of an aristocratic German mother, continues to excite the interest of historians who find his views "as subtle and as complex as his

inheritance." Acclaimed by the London *Times* as the wisest man in Europe at his death, Lord Acton's fame has grown rather than diminished. Arnold Toynbee referred to him as "one of the greatest minds among modern Western historians," but today the enigma of Acton arouses more interest than his alleged wisdom. One of his students, H. A. L. Fisher, wrote, "though many men of his time were more famous, few left behind them a larger legacy of unsatisfied curiosity."

Lionel Kochan attempts to penetrate the mystery in this carefully written, closely reasoned little volume. As the title indicates, the author treats primarily of Acton's philosophy of history; but he also includes sufficient character analysis to explain Acton's reluctance to publish, etc. The task undertaken by Kochan should daunt even the most intrepid, since much of his efforts must be expended in reconstruction of something that existed in an unfinished state. Acton did not write down a systematic philosophy of history but only a series of notes on the historical attitude. From these notes, it is possible to deduce that he favored neither the romantic nor the liberal philosophies of history and that he felt himself isolated from all his contemporaries in the matter of historical view, as he would be likely to find himself similarily isolated today.

Acton's appeal and his isolation spring, in part, from the same source—he was uncompromising in insisting that moral desiderata be applied as rigorously to the collective (the Church, the State, and the party primarily, but also the company, the foundation, etc.) as to the individual. It is unnecessary to point out why this has special appeal to our age.

The difficulties besetting such a work make the author vulnerable to several criticisms which, I am sure, he understands. The major assumption of the analysis is that Acton's notes are a more accurate index to his character and thought than his published writings (few as these were). Such an assumption is certainly open to challenge, for the notes appear to have been penned in a hurry and do not, perhaps, represent any process of digestion or assimilation or balancing of views. Further, most of the notes were compiled for "The History of Liberty," at least a possible source of distortion. Kochan regards as a fatal defect in Acton (a lack of courage) that his public utterances were so much milder than his private notes. One can think of many reasons for this, consideration and civility might be two. If the defect springs from such causes, it is a rather desirable defect. Sometimes a single note is made to bear a great weight of evidence, e.g., a confused notation is the basis for declaring Acton to be unhappily married (p. 24).

However, it seems likely to me that Kochan is correct in many of his major contentions about Acton and his closing comments show excellent critical abilities. (JOHN J. KAMERICK)

KREY, AUGUST C. *History and the Social Web: a Collection of Essays.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 269. $4.00.)

All but two of these twelve essays have previously been printed. The author has, however, revised them in order to achieve "a reasonable measure of unity

and continuity" (p. vii). Two of the papers, "Urban's Crusade: Success or Failure?" and "William of Tyre: The Making of a Historian in the Middle Ages," are careful research studies. The other ten essays are more general interpretations of phases of mediaeval history and the importance of the knowledge of history in the contemporary world. "Society without Education" treats of education in the early mediaeval age. "The Return to Law: The International State of the Middle Ages" deals primarily with the truce of God and the peace of God movements. The title, "Rebirth of the Medical Profession," explains the contents of that chapter. Three essays deal exclusively with the Renaissance. Editorial demand for brevity compels me to say no more about "The New Learning" and "Seeing the Renaissance Whole" than that they contain, among other fine things, a warning to us all not to forget the continuity, the before and after, of what we call a period in history. "A City That Art Built" explains why the people of Florence were able to make their city the cultural leader of the age.

The idea of continuity in all history, plus the need for historical discipline, in order to understand "the interlocking gears of human affairs" (p. 244) is highlighted in "The Social Web," as well as in the last three chapters. "What Is American History" is a plea to all specialists to remember to go back to the European origins of their story. Even in an age of technology the study of history must steady the thinking of us all. "Monte Cassino, Metten, and Minnesota" is a case study in contemporary continuity. (VICTOR GELLHAUS)

MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT (Ed.). *The Parkman Reader. Selected and Edited with an Introduction and Notes.* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1955. Pp. xv, 533. $6.00.)

One need not agree that Francis Parkman is "universally admitted to be one of the greatest—if not the greatest—historians that the New World has produced," or even that he was an "heroic" historian to be able to welcome this re-introduction of the author of *France and England in North America* to the general reader. Professor Morison has made a judicious selection of whole chapters "which have the greatest interest for present-day readers," rather than short extracts, amounting in all to about one-seventh of the multi-volume work which Parkman published between 1851 and 1892. Many of Parkman's footnotes, particularly biographical, have been deleted, and the editor has added corrective notes of his own, as well as introductory and connecting paragraphs.

The chapters selected illustrate the qualities which make good historical literature—research, evaluation, and literary presentation—qualities which the editor holds Parkman's work to have possessed to a superlative degree. Controversy will endure regarding Parkman's evaluation; his research has long since been acknowledged to have been prodigious. What this volume brings out is his sense of style and what Fauteux, speaking at the Parkman centenary

in 1923, called *"le don de vie."* The editor is to be congratulated on including so many examples of stylistic excellence within the compass of the work, not the least being the description of the Canadian forest as seen by the *coureur de bois* (p. 236). The work possesses an excellent biographical sketch of Parkman, well executed maps, a valuable bibliography with notes on the sales of Parkman's seven volumes, and an adequate index. It is safe to say that this reader will be of value to the scholar as well as the general reader. (ALLAN J. DOHERTY).

SCHROEDER, ERIC. *Muhammad's People. A Tale by Anthology.* (Portland: Bond Wheelwright Co. 1955. Pp. xviii, 838. $10.00.)

The purpose of the author—or composer—of this work is to give, through a collection of texts dealing with the various facets of Muslim civilization arranged chronologically according to their subject matter, a composite picture of that civilization as represented by its own members. Beginning with a brief section on the period of ignorance, as a prologue to the rise of Islâm, the author proceeds to a long and very fine section on the life of the prophet and the Koran (pp. 23-144). This section, one of the best in the book, is taken from Tabarî's *Annals*, the *Sîra* of Ibn Hišâm, and the Ṣaḥîḥ of Bukhârî, and presents for the non-Muslim reader of English, an extremely good picture of the beginnings of Islâm as seen by Muslim tradition.

Following this, the author proceeds, by the same methods of extracting texts, to treat of the caliphates of the "rightly-guided caliphs," the Syrian caliphate, and the Baghdad caliphate through the reign of al-Qâdir († 1031/422). Generally, the selections are well chosen in order to characterize the personages involved. One might cite, as particularly good among these, the section on al-Ḥağğâğ, the terrible and eloquent agent of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik. Probably one of the best portions of the book, along with that concerning the prophet, is the very long section (pp. 446-568) consisting of three chapters on the reign of the 'Abbâsid caliph, al-Muqtadir († 932/320). The first and third of these chapters, taken in great part from Margoliouth's translation of the last part of Miskawaih's *Taǧârib al-umam*, give the reader a fine look into the functions and vicissitudes of the vizier at this period when the empire was beginning to crumble; the middle chapter, dealing with al-Ḥusain b. Manṣûr al-Ḥallâǧ, one of the greatest of the Muhammadan mystics who was crucified under the reign of al-Muqtadir in the year 922/309, is not only very well put together—the impossibility of the English imitation of the style of certain types of Arabic prose makes any translation inadequate—but is most appropriately placed so as to bring out the contrast of the profound religiosity which was to be found among many of the believers, as opposed to the life of the court.

Mr. Schroeder's book is eminently readable and should serve the student of mediaeval history well, as a supplement to the works of western historians, in acquiring a good picture of early Islamic culture in the East. (RICHARD M. FRANK)

UNTERSTEINER, MARIO. *The Sophists.* Translated from the Italian by Kathleen Freeman. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1954. Pp. xvi, 368. $6.00.)

The purpose of this monograph is to examine critically what the author regards as the primary philosophical preoccupation of the Sophists, viz., their concern with the "experiences" of what man finds in the individual, in society, and in thought. The Sophists did not ignore the cosmos, but looked upon it rather as the background of an undifferentiated universal system of "things" or "experiences." With others, he regards the Sophists as the founders of humanism. The life and teachings of each of the great Sophists are presented in systematic fashion on the basis of the author's profound knowledge of the sources. The treatment of Gorgias is especially thorough and important. The non-specialist, however, should be warned that Untersteiner often cites later sources with full confidence, although such sources are often of dubious reliability. There are copious notes—relagated to the end of each chapter, a general bibliography, and adequate indices. As one would expect, the translation by Miss Freeman, a specialist in the field, is accurate and reads smoothly. The price is too high. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

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Cent ans d'apostolat au Labrador. Gaston Carrière, O.M.I. (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Oct.).

Le protestantisme s'établit au Canada. Marcel Trudel (*La revue de l'Université Laval*, Sept.).

Les Suisses au Canada. Claude de Bonnault (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, Apr.-June, 1955).

Canada and Commonwealth Affairs. D. J. McDougall (*Canadian Histor. Rev.*, Sept.).

L'Amérique latine a besoin de prêtres. J. Luzzi, S.J. (*Nouvelle revue théologique*, Sept.).

A. Evolução Urbana de São Paulo. Explicação necessária. E. Simões de Paula (*Revista de história*, Jan.-June, 1955).

São Paulo nos tempos coloniais. Raul de Andrada e Silva (*ibid.*).

A cidade de São Paulo no século XIX. Odilon Nogueira de Matos (*ibid.*).

A cidade de São Paulo no século XX. Pasquale Petrone (*ibid.*).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Ackerknecht, Erwin H. *A Short History of Medicine.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1955. Pp. xviii, 258. $4.50.) The professor of the history of medicine in the Medical School of the University of Wisconsin gives in this volume a survey of the subject from the days of the primitives to the Nobel Prize winners of the present century.

Antheunis, L. *Le conventionnel belge François Robert (1763-1826) et sa femme Louise de Keralio (1758-1882).* (Wetteren, Belgique: Les éditions Bracke. 1955. Pp. 97.)

Apter, David E. *The Gold Coast in Transition.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 355. $5.00.) Mr. Apter, assistant professor of political science in Northwestern University, has treated the evolution of the Gold Coast from a tribal dependency to a parliamentary democracy. The book is supplied with illustrations, bibliography, index, and an appendix entitled "A Note on Methodology."

Aquinas, St. Thomas. *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith. Summa Contra Gentiles.* Book I. *God.* Translated with introduction and notes by Anton C. Pegis. (Garden City: Doubleday Image Books. 1955. Pp. 317. $.85.)

Argenti, Philip P. (Ed.). *Diplomatic Archiv of Chios: 1577-1841.* 2 vols. (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1954. Pp. xliii, 457; 471-1117. $37.50 for set.)

Arminjon, P. *Le mouvement oecuménique. Efforts faits pour réaliser l'union ou le rapprochement des églises chrétiennes.* (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1955. Pp. 96. 375 fr.) This brochure by an honorary professor of the Universities of Geneva and Lausanne seeks in fourteen brief chapters to cover the attitudes of all the Christian denominations to the problem of church union.

Armstrong, April Oursler. *Stories from the Life of Jesus.* (Garden City: Garden City Books. 1955. Pp. 256. $2.95.)

Baer, Kurt. *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara.* (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1955. Pp. xx, 244. $5.00.)

Baierl, Joseph J. *The Catholic Church and the Modern State. A Study of Their Mutual Juridical Claims.* (Rochester: St. Bernard's Seminary. 1955. Pp. 243. $4.50.) Robert F. McNamara, professor of church history in St. Bernard's Seminary, says in his preface to this book that seminarians, for whom it was primarily designed, will find it most helpful, but so, too, will "any serious reader who is in search of a clear, objective summary of this difficult but very topical subject." Monsignor Baierl, who taught at St. Bernard's for more than forty-two years, died on July 8, 1955, before the volume appeared. In five chapters he traced the theme from the days of the early Church down to and including a chapter on the question of separation of Church and State in the United States. The discussion is documented throughout and has an adequate index of seventeen pages.

Bannon, John Francis, S.J. *The Mission Frontier in Sonora, 1620-1687.* (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1955. Pp. x, 160. $5.00.)

Barber, Elinor G. *The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 165. $3.50.)

Borton, Hugh. *Japan's Modern Century.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1955. Pp. xii, 524. $7.00.) Mr. Borton, trained at Columbia, Tokyo, and Leyden, and now professor of Japanese in Columbia University, has provided here a general survey of Japan since the 1850's, a book that carries a series of

references to authorities used at the end of each of the twenty-two chapters, a general bibliography, four appendices, and a series of maps, tables, and illustrations. The amount of space given to "Religion and Thought" (pp. 181-184) is, surely, meager in a volume of over 500 pages that is intended as a general history of the country's development since 1850.

Briggs, Asa. *Victorian People. A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851-67.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 312. $5.00.)

Brown, Milton W. *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 244. $15.00.) The Princeton University Press continues to issue its handsome books in the field of the history of art. Here a professor of history and art in Brooklyn College surveys the years 1913-1929 when cubism, futurism, purism, etc., made their impact upon American art and left some strange traces behind, to say nothing of the furor they aroused in art circles. The seven chapters run from the revolt which featured the "Ash Can School" just before World War I down to a chapter on Thomas Hart Benton and the crystallization of realism c. 1930. The volume contains several hundred illustrations, three pages of footnotes at the back, a classified bibliography of nearly forty pages (pp. 201-237), and an index.

Brunini, John Gilland and Francis X. Connolly, (Eds.). *Stories of Our Century by Catholic Authors.* (Garden City: Doubleday Image Books. 1955. Pp. 317. $.85.)

Burr, Robert N. and Ronald D. Hussey. *Documents on Inter-American Cooperation.* Vol. I. *1810-1881;* Vol. II. *1881-1948.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 182; xii, 214. $3.00 each.) Two members of the Department of History in the University of California have edited here a series of documents on inter-American efforts at co-operation running in time between an editorial in *La Gaceta* of Buenos Aires of November, 1810, to the so-called Pact of Bogotá of the Ninth International Conference of American States, April, 1948. In all there are 116 documents, in whole or in part, and a bibliography and index with each volume. The two volumes are part of the fourth series of Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History edited by William C. McDermott.

Burton, Doris. *Daring to Live. Heroic Christians of Our Day.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. 176. $3.00.) This volume contains brief sketches of ten Catholic figures running in time from Louis Pasteur to Father Karl Leisner who died in 1945.

Butterfield, Herbert. *Man on His Past.* (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 238. $4.50.)

Caponigri, A. Robert. *History and Liberty. The Historical Writings of Benedetto Croce.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. xi, 284. $4.00.)

Carter, Thomas Francis. *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward.* Revised by L. Carrington Goodrich. (New York: Ronald Press. 1955. 2nd ed. Pp. xxiv, 293. $10.00.)

Catch Us Those Little Foxes. Written by a Carmelite Nun. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. 95. $1.50.)

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. *The Everlasting Man.* (Garden City: Doubleday Image Books. 1955. Pp. 274. $.75.)

Courtney, Francis, S.J. *Cardinal Robert Pullen: An English Theologian of the Twelfth Century.* (Rome: Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 285.)

Craig, Hardin. *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. vi, 421. $6.75.)

Cranny, Titus, S.A. *Father Paul, Apostle of Unity.* (Peekskill, New York: Graymoor Press. 1955. Pp. 94.) This brief biography of Father Paul James Francis Watson, S.A., contains selected historical highlights of the life

and development of Father Paul's apostolate for unity; his work as an Episcopalian clergyman; his founding of the Society of the Atonement; his editorship of the *Lamp;* his launching of the Chair of Unity Octave; his entrance, with his society, into the Roman Catholic Church; his role in the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, and other missionary enterprises. Written in the spirit of the subject and drawn from his writings and contemporary sources, the author has shown the influence of Father Paul upon his contemporaries and the growing influence of his institutions upon the Catholic Church in the United States and abroad.

Crehan, J.H., S.J. (Ed.). Herbert Thurston, S.J. *Surprising Mystics.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. ix, 238. $3.95.) This book of essays of the papers of Herbert Thurston, S.J., edited by J. H. Crehan, S.J., who edited two previous volumes from Thurston's literary remains, contains fourteen brief studies of mystics and would-be mystics, including Anne Catherine Emmerich, the best known of the subjects, Christian of Saint-Troud, Margery Kempe *et al.*

Culler, A. Dwight. *The Imperial Intellect. A Study of Newman's Educational Ideal.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 327. $5.00.)

Dawson, Christopher (Ed.). *The Mongol Mission.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1955. Pp. xlii, 246. $4.00.)

de la Bedoyere, Michael. *The Layman in the Church.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. vii, 111. $2.75.)

De Meyer, A. et Et. Van Cauwenbergh. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques.* Fasc. LXXVI. *Constantios-Crescence.* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané. 1955. Pp. 770-1023.)

del Río, Ángel (Ed.). *Responsible Freedom in the Americas.* (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1955. Pp. xvii, 554. $7.50.) This volume contains the papers and summaries of the discussions during the bicentennial conference of Columbia University devoted to the Americas.

Dickinson, J. C. *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 142.)

Dickinson, Joycelyne Gledhill. *The Congress of Arras 1435. A Study in Medieval Diplomacy.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1955. Pp. xxii, 266. $6.75.)

Elliot, Margaret M. *British History Displayed: 1688-1950.* (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 348. $2.50.) This book, intended for use on the secondary school level, contains 257 illustrations. The general format is arranged in such a way "that the teacher may deal sketchily or at greater length with the material provided, according to individual requirements."

Fecher, V. J., S.V.D. *A Study of the Movement for German National Parishes in Philadelphia and Baltimore (1787-1802).* (Rome: Gregorian University. 1955. Pp. xxxii, 283.)

Felici, Icilio. *Father to the Immigrants. The Servant of God, John Baptist Scalabrini, Bishop of Piacenza.* Translated by Carol Della Chiesa. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1955. Pp. viii, 248. $3.00.)

Filipuzzi, Angelo. *La pace de Milano (6 agosto 1849).* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1955. Pp. vii, 388.)

Franzen, August. *Die Kelchbewegung am Niederrhein im 16. Jahrhundert.* (Münster in Westfalen: Ashendorffsche. 1955. Pp. 82. DM 4,50.) This monograph investigates the various attitudes of the Catholic authorities of the lower Rhine region (the city and electors of Cologne and the dukes of the united duchies of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg) toward the concession of the lay chalice during the era of the Protestant Revolt. The author attempts to show how this question became a symbol of confessional division and how the Erasmian-inspired efforts to introduce communion *sub utraque* were illusory and, in the last analysis, anachronistic, satisfying neither Catholics, who were content with reception under one form, nor

Protestants, who could not be won over by mere disciplinary concessions. There are footnotes and an index but no bibliography.

Fritz, Wolfgang. *Quellen zum Wormser Konkordat.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1955. Pp. 83. br. DM 6.80.) This addition to the Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, founded by Hans Lietzmann and edited by Kurt Aland, contains selections from forty-seven documents relating to the Concordat of Worms of September, 1122, as well as excerpts from twelve of the leading secondary works treating of the concordat. The contents have been edited by Wolfgang Fritz and should prove useful to students of German mediaeval history.

Gabriel, Astrik L. *Peter D'Ailly and the New Statutes of Ave Maria College.* (Paris: Brunel. 1955. Pp. 476-489.)

Gerard, John. *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest.* Translated by Philip Caraman, S.J. (Garden City: Doubleday Image Books. 1955. Pp. 318. $.85.)

Ghéon, Henri. *Mary Mother of God.* Translated by Yetta Aremstein & Ethel Duncan. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co.; Paris: Editions Pierre Tisné. 1955. Pp. 194. $10.00.)

Gottmann, Jean. *Virginia at Mid-Century.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1955. Pp. vii, 584. $7.50.) Miss Gottmann is a French geographer who is connected with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Her volume is profusely illustrated and aims to describe contemporary Virginia and to examine its "resources, its problems, and its potentialities" (p. iii). Aside from three or four slight references, the subject of religion receives no treatment in the book.

Graebner, Norman A. *Empire on the Pacific. A Study in American Continental Expansion.* (New York: Ronald Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 278. $4.50.)

Green-Armytage, A.H.N. *A Portrait of St. Luke.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. 204. $3.00.) A portrait of the evangelist that attempts to reconstruct as far as possible the personal and literary character of St. Luke. This has been done, according to the jacket, "principally by reading between the lines of the Gospel and the Acts. . . ." Monsignor R. A. Knox has contributed an introduction.

Greenly, A. H. *A Bibliography of Father Richard's Press in Detroit.* (Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library. 1955. Pp. x, 48. $5.00.) This handsomely printed little book contains a listing of fifty-two items—with descriptions—of the works published by Richard's press in Detroit between the *Child's Spelling Book* of 1809 and a document dating from c. 1816. Although the famous Sulpician's press was not the first in Detroit, it was the first, as the compiler says, "to produce books of cultural advantage to the community" (p. vi). There is an able introduction to the volume and also a key to the present location of these rare specimens of early printing in the Middle West.

Guide to the Manuscript Collection in the Toronto Public Libraries. (Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries. 1954. Pp. iv, 116.) The manuscripts covered in this guide consist principally of Canadian, and especially of Upper Canadian, historical materials with a few items of British and American origin.

Gwynn, Aubrey, S.J. *The Writings of Bishop Patrick, 1074-1084.* Volume I. *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae.* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1955. Pp. 147. 25/.)

Hamlin, Talbot. *Benjamin Henry Latrobe.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxxvi, 633. $15.00.)

Hanke, Lewis and Manuel Giménez Fernández. *Bartolomé de las Casas, 1474-1566.* (Santiago, Chile: Fondo histórico y bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. 1954. Pp. xxxi, 394.)

Herberg, Will. *Protestant-Catholic-Jew. An Essay in American Religious Sociology.* (New York: Doubleday & Co. 1944. Pp. 320. $4.00.)

Heymann, Frederick G. *John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 521. $9.00.)

Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 431. $6.00.)

Hilpisch, Stephanus, O.S.B., *et al. Sankt Bonifatius.* (Fulda: Verlag Parzeller & Co. 1954. Pp. xi, 686; 20 plates.)

Hockett, Homer Carey. *The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1955. Pp. xv, 330. $5.00.)

Hofstadter, Richard. *The Age of Reform. From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1955. Pp. viii, 328, xx. $4.50.)

Hook, Sidney. *Marx and the Marxists: The Ambiguous Legacy.* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc. 1955. Pp. 254. $1.25 U.S.; $1.35 Canada.) An Anvil Original.

Ingram, Kenneth. *History of the Cold War.* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. 239. $5.00.)

Jessup, Philip C., *et al.* and Joseph P. Chamberlain. *International Regulation of Economic and Social Questions* and *International Organization.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 173. $1.75.)

John of Joinville. *The Life of St. Louis.* Translated by René Hague from the text edited by Natalis de Wailly. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1955. Pp. v, 306. $3.75.)

Jörgensen, Johannes. *St. Francis of Assisi.* (Garden City: Doubleday Image Books. 1955. Pp. 354. $.95.)

Jourdain, Vital, SS.CC. *The Heart of Father Damien: 1840-1889.* Translated from the French by Francis Larkin, SS.CC. and Charles Davenport. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. x, 438. $4.75.)

Kane, John J. *Catholic-Protestant Conflicts in America.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. viii, 244. $3.50.)

Kane, Lucile M. and Kathryn A. Johnson (Compilers). *Manuscript Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.* Guide Number 2. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1955. Pp. xiii, 212. $3.60.) This well-indexed sequel to the guide issued twenty years ago provides brief catalog descriptions of 1,189 manuscript collections. They provide records for all sorts of human activity, and consequently this set of guides, outstanding for its quality, remains indispensable for the student of Minnesota or mid-western history, and also of some broader questions.

Kapsner, Oliver L., O.S.B. *A Catalog of the Foster Stearns Collection on the Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Called, of Malta.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Library. 1955. Pp. x, 61. $1.00.) This unique collection represents the more important works published between 1480 and 1950 concerning the eight-centuries-old military religious order known as the Knights of Malta. The items were collected over a period of a quarter century by Mr. Stearns, an associate knight, who donated the collection to the library of the Catholic University of America. The printed catalog consists of a classified list of the 281 items, accurately and fully described, served by an exhaustive author-title-subject index.

Kempis, Thomas à. *The Imitation of Christ.* Edited by Harold C. Gardiner, S.J. (Garden City: Doubleday Image Books. 1955. Pp. 236. $.65.)

Kerner, Gaiselle (Comp.). *Records of the Office of the Pardon Attorney.* (Washington: National Archives. 1955. Pp. v, 13.)

Knowles, Dom David. *The Religious Orders in England.* Vol. II. *The End of the Middle Ages.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 407. $8.50.)

Kohn, Hans. *Nationalism, Its Meaning and History.* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc. 1955. Pp. 192. $1.25 U.S.; $1.35 Canada.) An Anvil Original.

Lacko, Michael, S.J. *Unio Užhorodensis Ruthernorum Carpaticorum cum Ecclesia Catholica.* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum. 1955. Pp. xviii, 276.) This volume is No. 143 of the Orientalia Christiana Analecta of the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies. The author is professor of history in the institute.

Loetscher, Lefferts A. (Ed.). *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.* 2 Vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House. 1955. Pp. xx, 630; 631-1205. $13.50 for two before 12/31/55; $15.00 for two after 12/31/55.) This two-volume work is an extension of the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.*

Lucas, Henry S. *Netherlanders in America. Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege and Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xix, 744. $10.00.)

McCloskey, Michael B., O.F.M. *The Formative Years of the Missionary College of Santa Cruz of Querétaro, 1683-1733.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press and Academy of American Franciscan History. 1955. Pp. xiv, 128. Paper, $1.50; bound, $4.00.)

McCrossen, Vincent A. *The Empty Room.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 156. $2.75.) The professor of literary backgrounds of European civilization in Boston College writes here of the UN's room for meditation.

McGarry, Daniel D. (Trans.). *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury. A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1944. Pp. xxvii, 305. $5.00.)

McLoughlin, William G., Jr. *Billy Sunday Was His Real Name.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. 324. $5.50.) This is a scholarly biography of the great revivalist by the assistant professor of American civilization and political science in Brown University. Mr. McLoughlin has made good use of hitherto unpublished sources that were not available to earlier biographers, of interviews with Mrs. Sunday and other close associates, and of the press that covered the principal events of Billy Sunday's unusual career.

Magurn, Ruth Saunders (Trans. and Ed.). *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 528. $10.00.) Miss Magurn has included in this handsome volume all the known letters of Rubens in their first English translation. The correspondence runs from 1603 to 1640 and covers a wide variety of topics. The book is beautifully illustrated, contains a bibliographical note, nearly 100 pages of notes on the letters, and an adequate index. The work is a credit to the translator and editor, who is assistant curator of prints in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University, as well as to the Harvard University Press.

Malin, James C. *The Contriving Brain and the Skillful Hand.* (Lawrence: The Author. 1955. Pp. xii, 436. $3.50.) The professor of history in the University of Kansas presents in this volume a series of essays on American historiography.

Marshall, Bruce. *Father Malachy's Miracle.* (Garden City: Doubleday Image Books. 1955. Pp. 198. $.65.)

Mauriac, François. *Words of Faith.* Translated by Edward H. Flannery. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 118. $2.75.) Six lectures delivered in Paris, Brussels, Madrid, Geneva, and Stockholm on the occasion of Mauriac's reception of the Nobel Prize for literature. They have been translated by Father Edward H. Flannery, assistant editor of the Providence *Visitor.*

Moore, John Preston. *The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 309, map. $6.00.)

Morelli, Emilia. *Tre profili: Benedetto XIV, Pasquale Stanislao Mancini, Pietro Roselli.* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1955. Pp. 162.)

Morton, J. B. *Hilaire Belloc. A Memoir.* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1955. Pp. x, 185. $3.00.) "Beachcomber" of the London *Daily Express* [J. B. Morton] writes a highly personal account of Belloc which all admirers of the great champion of the faith will want to read. Mr. Morton is quick to disclaim his book as a biography. But when the time arrives to write the life of Belloc this memoir by a close personal friend will be of value to the biographer by reason of its many insights and interpretations.

Mowat, Charles Loch. *Britain Between the Wars, 1918-1940.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 694. $6.00.) This volume by the associate professor of English history in the University of Chicago is the first major survey of Britain during the period covered.

Murray, Desmond, O.P. *A Saint of the Week.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. viii, 294. $4.50.) In this volume Father Murray gives brief sketches of the lives of four saints for each month of the year, a total of forty-eight, whose lives spanned the nearly twenty centuries between St. John the Baptist and St. Thérèse of Lisieux.

Nemec, Ludvík. *Church and State in Czechoslovakia.* (New York: Vantage Press, Inc. 1955. Pp. xii, 577. $5.00.)

Newbold, Robert C. *The Albany Congress and Plan of Union of 1754.* (New York: Vantage Press, Inc. 1955. Pp. 208. $3.50.)

Newcomb, Covelle. *The Broken Sword. The Story of Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. 1955. Pp. 334. $3.50.) Miss Newcomb has proved her ability to tell a story in a highly interesting way in a number of earlier books, e.g., *Larger than the Sky,* a fictionalized biography of Cardinal Gibbons. She has now done the same for the great Dominican missionary and controversial figure of colonial days, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas.

Newman, John Henry. *An Essay in Aid of Grammar of Assent.* Introduction by Etienne Gilson. (Garden City: Doubleday Image Books. 1955. Pp. 396. $.95.)

Oesterreicher, John M. (Ed.). *The Bridge. A Yearbook of Judaeo-Christian Studies.* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1955. Pp. 349. $3.95.) The statement of purpose for *The Bridge* expresses the wish that the work of the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies of Seton Hall University, of which it is the organ, "will help Christians to a deeper understanding of their treasures, and no less that it will serve the dialogue between Christians and Jews" (p. 9). Volume I contains nineteen items under the heading of "Studies," "Perspectives," "Surveys," and "Books." There has been sufficient care taken in the preparation of a number of these essays to warrant an over-all index for the volume. Those interested in the institute will find a worthwhile outline of its aims in *Jubilee* for October, 1955 (pp. 44-46).

O'Keane, Josephine. *Thomas J. Walsh. A Senator from Montana.* (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Co. 1955. Pp. 284. $4.00.)

Parrot, André. *Discovering Buried Worlds.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 127. $3.75.)

———. *The Flood and Noah's Ark.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 76. $2.75.)

———. *The Tower of Babel.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 75. $2.75.) This book and *The Flood and Noah's Ark* are the first in a series entitled Studies in Biblical Archeology by the distinguished Louvre archeologist and excavator of Mari. On both the flood and the tower

Parrot brings to bear an expert analysis of the literary and archeological evidence. He shows that there were several different floods in ancient Mesopotamia and concludes that one of these became the theme of the old literature. There can be no doubt that the Tower of Babel is the Babylonian *ziggurat*. According to Parrot, the purpose of the *ziggurat* is to assure communication between earth and heaven, although the biblical author has used it for a different purpose. An interesting treatment of the flood and tower in art is included. The series is off to an auspicious start, due to M. Parrot's clear style, light touch, and reliable knowledge.

Pieper, Josef. *Justice*. Translated by Lawrence E. Lynch. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1955. Pp. 121. $2.75.)

Randall, Ruth Painter. *Lincoln's Sons*. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1955. Pp. xvi, 373. $5.00.) In this volume the biographer of Mary Todd Lincoln tells the story of the latter's four sons with the aid of new materials made available with the opening of the Lincoln Papers. Mrs. Randall has confirmed here her thorough acquaintance with the domestic life and affairs of Lincoln. The book closes with a bibliography and an adequate index.

Reidy, Maurice F., S.J. *Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, Jacobean Court Preacher*. (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 237. $3.50.)

Reynolds, James A. (Ed.). *Historical Records and Studies*. Vol. XLIII. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1955. Pp. 138.)

Robo, Etienne. *Two Portraits of St. Thérèse of Lisieux*. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. 205. $3.00.)

Sawicki, Jakub. *Concilia Poloniae*. Vol. VIII. *Synody Diecezji Przemyskiej Obrządku lacinskiego I Ich Statuty*. (Wrocaw: Zakad im. Ossolinskich-Wydawnictwo. 1955. Pp. xii, 376, maps. Cena z 50.—.) The synods of the Latin Rite Diocese of Przemyśl and their decrees from 1415 to 1723.

Schurhammer, Georg. *Franz Xaver. Sein Leben und Seine Zeit*. Erster Band. *Europa 1506-1541*. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1955. Pp. xxx, 742.)

Sesmat, Augustin. *Dialectique. Hamelin et la philosophie Chretienne*. (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1955. Pp. 358.)

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